

JOHN CLARK RIDPATH

B. O. FLOWER

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH

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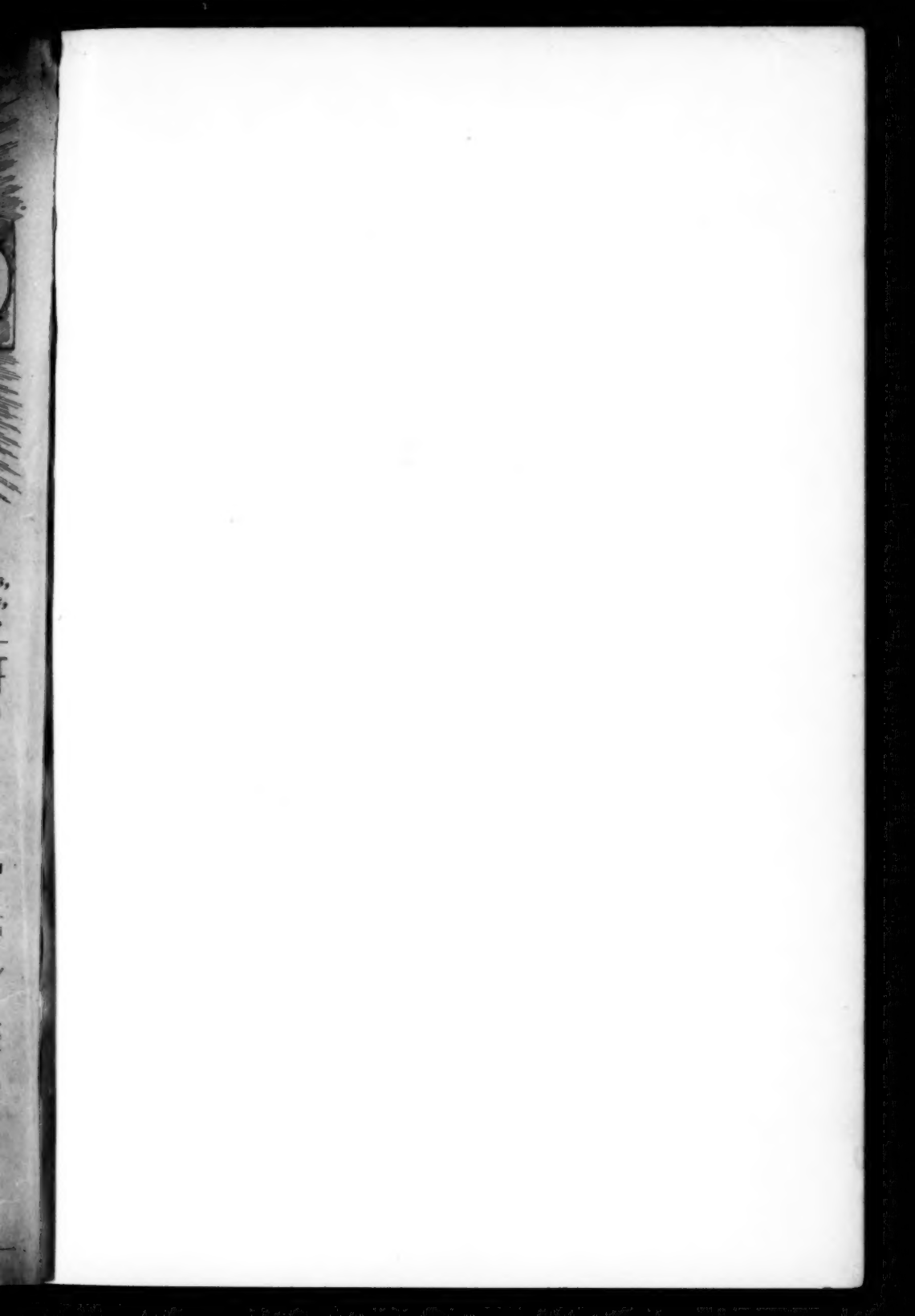
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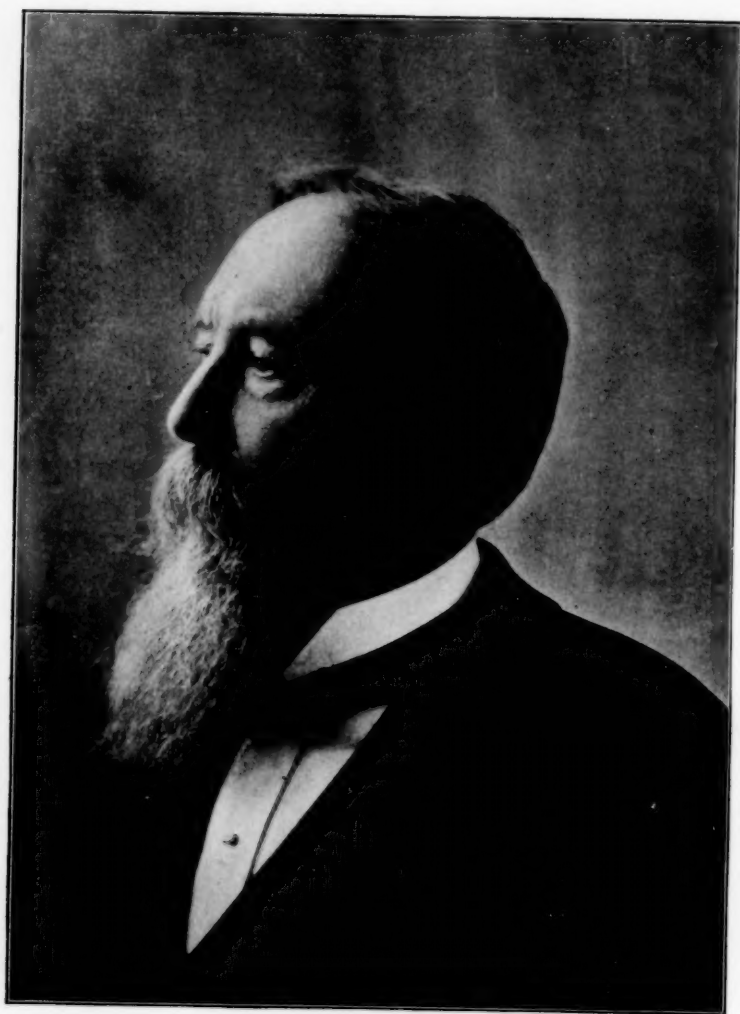
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John Elam R. Hath.

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into *the arena*,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—Heine.

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE CONCERT OF EUROPE.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

FROM overseas, in the midday of our national turmoil, comes a wave of sentiment breaking on our shores and pervading our atmosphere. It is a call to our people to enter into alliance with the Mother Country. It is not Great Britain herself who calls, but rather her representatives. The invitation is given by those who in some sense speak in her name. They represent at least the present temper of the British nation. Their call for an Anglo-American alliance is caught in the great sounding-board of British journalism, and is flung almost vociferously abroad wherever the English language is spoken. The answering sounding-board of American journalism catches the echo and flings it back with hilarious approval. Thus, for the time, an international enthusiasm has broken out in favor of some kind of union between Great Britain and the United States of America. Certainly the enthusiasm has been a long time coming!

On the morning of June 6, 1898, the writer attended the anniversary celebration of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston. This event is always a great occasion. The anniversary has been observed for two hundred and sixty years. The exercises were held in the New Old South Church, with its stately mediæval tower over-

topping the Public Library of Boston, in Copley Square. The élite of the city sat in the auditorium. There were the Governor and his staff. There were many of the dignitaries of the city and the commonwealth. The principal speaker was Dr. R. R. Meredith, of Brooklyn, New York. His address was a plea for the proposed Anglo-American alliance. He openly advocated the acceptance of the overture. Not in an uncertain and tentative manner did he rush forward to grasp the proffered hand. Not timidly did he brush aside the old patriotic sentiment of the American people for independence and a separate nationality. He went the whole length of the trail. He pulled up the anchor and sailed away. He reviewed the doctrines of the fathers and put them aside as if they were naught. He ridiculed, in particular and by name, the Farewell Address of Washington, and proposed that it should be framed and hung up as a ridiculous memento of an age no longer admirable, and a doctrine no longer applicable to the political life of the American nation. For all this he was roundly applauded. The applause was not universal or uproarious, but it was general and satisfactory. His principles were approved with the clapping of hands, and with laughter at the speaker's ridicule of the Farewell Address. By mentioning these facts I hope to give them a wider publicity than they might otherwise enjoy!

For myself, I say that an American orator who, in the capital of New England, or in any other capital of this our noble democratic empire of States, should propose to frame and hang away the Farewell Address of Washington as an absurd relic of the past is himself no American; and if I do not mistake the conditions that still exist in the United States, he is no expositor of the hopes and aspirations of the American people. Aye, more; I have a well-defined notion that such an orator would better emigrate for the good of the Republic.

I purpose in this article to look dispassionately at the proposal to form an Anglo-American alliance. It is of the utmost importance that this question should be calmly and patriotically considered. It is unworthy the thinkers of

America that they should fling themselves heedlessly into the currents of a passing emotion. It is likewise unworthy of them that they should fail to note and consider such a fact as the present prevailing sentiment, and that they should not estimate its significance. The only kind of public opinion which is really valuable in the presence of this issue is that which arises from the unprejudiced decision of patriotic minds, knowing nothing but the welfare of native land, and seeking nothing but the ultimate happiness of mankind. It is in this spirit that I humbly come to the great question of the proposed Anglo-American alliance, and in this spirit I propose to contribute as much as I may to the adequate discussion of the issue.

In the first place, I inquire what is the *meaning* of the proposed alliance of the United States and Great Britain? What *kind* of an alliance is it that we are asked to enter? Is it an alliance of mere sympathies between the people of the United States and the people of the British Isles? Or is it a league which contemplates a union of military resources, defensive and offensive, one or both? Is it a temporary joining of forces for a specific purposes in relation to the existing Spanish war? Is it a civil and political union which is contemplated? Is it a coalescence of British and American institutions? Is it a governmental alliance in the sense that the government of Great Britain and the government of the United States shall be and act as one? And if so, *which* *one* shall it be? Under which flag is the alliance to be made? Are we, when the union shall be effected, to follow the standard of St. George, or are we to march under the star-banner of our fathers? Whose flag is to prevail? Whose institutional structure is to be accepted for both nations? Of a certainty, we cannot march under both flags. It must be under the one or the other. Which shall it be? Shall we take the flag of the British Empire or the flag of American Democracy?

My countrymen, the question widens. It widens to infinity. It takes in the whole of our history and our hope. From the present it reaches back to the old colonial days, and then it reaches to the limitless future. It is proposed that this

great American Republic shall be blended in some way with the history of the old world. In that event, what shall be the color and the substance of the blending? Shall the hue and the drapery be monarchical, or shall it be democratical? What shall be the limitations and the course of our future destiny? Shall we predominate over Europe, or shall Europe predominate over us? The contingency is appalling, and it seems to be imminent! The remaining two and a-half years of the nineteenth century may prove to be more decisive of the future welfare of mankind than has been any other like period in the annals of our race since the assassination of Cæsar.

Long before the outbreak of the Spanish war I had occasion to call the attention of the readers of *THE ARENA* to the likelihood and impending danger that the United States might, as the result of existing conditions, become Europeanized, with the consequent loss or serious impairment of our nationality.* Here, already, the contingency is at our door. Here, already, we are asked to decide whether or not we will form an alliance with the most powerful empire of the world and thus commit ourselves to participation in the Concert of Europe.

The article to which I refer was prepared in outline at least two years previous to its publication. It was not, however, a prophecy, but merely common sense. I had clearly perceived that the crushing forces which had precipitated our financial crisis of 1893 had their ultimate origin in Europe, and particularly in England. It was clear to my mind at that day, as at this, that the money despotism established in London and Amsterdam, extending its viewless radii of power over all the earth, would require the submission of the United States to the world-wide dominion of plutocracy. This involved the creation in our country of those conditions which brought about our great financial calamity in the Columbian year, and which have entailed upon us for a period of fully five years such loss and suffering as no other great nation has hitherto known and endured. It might be clearly

* See the article, "Shall the United States be Europeanized?" in *THE ARENA* for December, 1897.

perceived at that time that the secret empire of the money kings, having their headquarters in Europe and their satrapies in America, would affect our whole economic, social, and political condition to such an extent that ere long our nation would be dragged away from its traditional moorings in order to be incorporated with the European system, of finance first, and of civil structure afterwards.

The swift-flying passage of events has brought us quickly to the looked-for crisis. Nothing is now more clear than that we have come to the dividing of the ways. We shall now take one way and not the other. With the outbreak of the Spanish war Great Britain, with her immemorial prudence, immediately apprehended the situation. Taking quick note of the universal roar of Spanish sympathies throughout Europe, marking the fact that there was not in all the discordant tumult a single word of fraternal regard for the United States, Great Britain saw her opportunity. She held out the olive branch; that is, her representatives held out the olive branch. They took up the oft-sung strain of common language, common race, and the common historical destiny of the English-speaking nations, with the deduction that these nations should henceforth be one in social, institutional, and governmental action and progress.

The song — at least the overture of the song — prevailed; the echo of it was caught on this side, and the whole theme was soon learned by heart. The great commercial centres on the Atlantic seaboard were already fast-moored to England — bound to her by every tie which commercialism is able to create or recognize as a valid bond of union. So the Atlantic cities broke into a roar, as they may always be expected to do when folly is rampant. Long since, the cities of our Eastern coast have ceased to be American and have become European. The character of these powerful but dangerous aggregations is notorious; they are known to be foreign in every essential of their structure, their sympathy, and their intent. The prevailing element of the population in all of them is of foreign birth, and much of it is of foreign allegiance.

In these cities a knowledge of the United States no longer

exists, even by tradition. The journalism which prevails, out of which public information is drawn within the circle of each metropolis, is totally ignorant of conditions prevalent west of the Alleghany mountains. To this journalism the valley of the Mississippi is no more than the valley of the Congo. The Metropolitan press is not infected with even the outlines of information relative to the progress of affairs in the great States of the American Union. It is almost wholly concerned with foreign affairs and international contingencies. The mass of the municipal populations read nothing but their newspapers; they know nothing else, and the consequence is that the United States, the people of the United States, the institutions of the United States, the hopes and purposes of the people of the United States are forgotten and cast away by the municipal powers.

Commercialism, having no country of its own, purposely permits and encourages this baleful ignorance; and the result has been that as soon as the recent overture from Great Britain was made known, a universal clamor arose for the acceptance of the delusive proffer. The American newspapers immediately broke out in a chorus of jubilation at the prospect of an international embrace, in the warmth of which commercialism might get an added coal, and the financial despotism of the world be strengthened and confirmed.

It is not a pleasing task, in the midst of all this fraternalism, of all this "English-speaking-race" business, of this outburst and proclamation of an Anglo-American union for the civilization and rectification of the world on moral principles, to utter a note of warning against it, or to contend with the rushing winds which have filled all the house where we are sitting. Nevertheless, we shall do our duty in this great matter. It is of the utmost importance that we should. There has not been such a historical crisis in our country since the outbreak of our Civil War. Perhaps there has not been such a crisis in any nation since the battle of Waterloo. The question is simply this: Whether the nationality of the United States, as that nationality has been defined by our Declaration of Independence, by our Constitution, by the teachings of the fathers, and by all our national

history during the first three-quarters of the present century, shall survive and be perpetuated and defended; or whether all this shall be surrendered in whole or in part by the entrance of the United States into an Anglo-American alliance first and the Concert of Europe afterwards. It is, as we said in our article many months ago, simply a question whether our country is to be and to remain *American* as it has been in the past, or whether we are to abandon our history, lose our characteristics, and become Europeanized.

Than this no greater question has arisen in modern history. The solution of it the one way or the other will perhaps determine the course of civilization for centuries to come. If the United States of America shall continue in the course prescribed by the fathers of the Republic and happily pursued unto the present day this nation must, in the nature of the case, be and become the conspicuous and singular example of political liberty and progress to all the other nations of the world. But if, on the other hand, the United States shall be wrested from the moorings and be carried over and reincorporated as a part and parcel of Europe, then this nation might as well have never been. The distinctive principles and tendencies for which the American Republic has stood, and which it has so favorably exemplified for a century and a quarter might as well have never been known. For why should the human race be mocked and tantalized for a hundred and twenty-five years with the *appearance* and *prospect* of emancipation only to be robbed of its hopes and sent back into that very past from which we escaped with so much hardship and expenditure of blood and treasure in the eighteenth century?

My countrymen: What is the history of the past? It is the story of escape from the thralldom of the Middle Ages. It is the history of brave men, few in numbers, distressed in their lives and fortune, leaving home and memory behind to find a new world and reclaim it as an asylum for the refugees of humanity. They disenthralled themselves and established a refuge. Their coming was an escape from the intolerable conditions which they left behind. That is precisely what was done by our ancestors in the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries. Is it possible that our people in this great day of power have forgotten their origin? Is it possible that they have become so besotted with commerce and so perverted with the abuses of the political life that they have no longer time or place for one brief memory of that glorious past which our colonial fathers made for us two and a-half centuries ago, and which they confirmed for us a hundred and twenty years ago in that memorable and heroic war?

I say to you, ye men of America, that if you have become so oblivious to your past, to its inspirations and its hopes; if you have allowed yourself to be submerged in the ocean of a brutal commercialism; if you have accepted wealth and power as your ideals instead of freedom and humanity and high thought, — then indeed it is time for you to be shocked alive again. Aye, more; you will be shocked in one way or another into a realization of your condition. If reason will do it, well and good. If patriotism reviving in your breasts after this fearful sleep and delusion will do it, well and good. But if not this, then a ruder force will startle you from your stupor. History is cold and cruel. Whenever a race of men loses its virtues, whenever a people become oblivious to the nobler aspects of life and substitute low ideals for the grand hopes and inspirations which they once possessed, then History, if nothing else, will rudely arouse them from their delusion amid the down-rushing of their institutions, the falling away of their fortunes, the collapse of their homes, and the bursting of all the bladders on which they have been swimming.

This fate will come to us, and it is now impending. Therefore we humbly call to you as one who is interested in the welfare of his kind and who loves the great Republic built for him by his fathers to rise up suddenly and to dissipate, as you can easily do, the oncoming calamity of the nation.

Is the American Republic something or nothing? Is it a delusion or is it a fact? Is it something to be admired and defended and adored, or is it the haunt of malcontents, a fiction of demagogues, an arena unfit for "business" to flourish in, and fit only for the parade of anarchy and the display of oratorical exuberance? It is either the one thing

or the other. It is not both. It cannot be both, but only one. For our part, we say that the Republic is something, and not nothing. We say that it is a reality. We say that it is the greatest and most important political fact in the world. We say that it is worth all the other political facts put together. We say that this reality of ours surpasses anything that has been attained in the past history of nations. We say also that it contains the prophecy of a glorious future. We say that the American Republic has furnished a fit abode and shelter for men; and we say that, God willing, we are going to preserve it untarnished for our posterity.

Let us look briefly at what this nation and our frame of government signify. What was really accomplished by our fathers? Their accomplishment was a complete reversal of the past. It was a veritable revolution. It substituted a new ideal for an old ideal of government. Our system declared in its very incipency that government comes from the people and not from heaven. Our fundamental assertion was, and still is, that governments are instituted among men to secure the rights and liberties of the governed; that they derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that whenever a government becomes subversive of this great end it is the right and duty of the people to alter it, amend it, abolish it, cast it away.

These principles are either true or they are not true. If they are true we should take them and keep them as a priceless treasure. Out of them we should construct the anchor of our hope. That anchor we should let down into the deep and turbulent seas of this nineteenth century until the crooked fluke, taking hold of the eternal ledges, shall steady our ship and give us confidence to mock the storms. But if these principles be *not* true then our fathers were deluded; then their work was in vain.

The old theory of government was that it is something external to man. It was handed down to him out of the sky. It came not by human consent but by the grace of God. It was a thing which He gave to kings and princes and royal houses and dynasties. By them it was held as a possession. By them the *Dei Gratia* was accepted and made

the sheet anchor of the system. They floated about for centuries parading the grace of God as their warrant for whatever they did. They could not construct a crown, or make a throne, or coin a florin, or issue an edict, or commit a butchery, or enslave a nation without doing it by the grace of God. The grace of God was the strong card which all of the royal blockheads of Europe held and played for a thousand years, and now at the close of the nineteenth century they are playing it still!

The potentates and rulers across the sea know well that the principle of the American Republic must be extinguished from the affairs of men or that their mediæval *Dei Gratia* must be put away with the other pretensions and shams of antiquity; with the chain and the fagot; with the headsman's block for the rebel and the inquisitorial rack for the unbeliever.

If a step so momentous as this of an alliance with Great Britain should be taken by the United States what does it signify? It signifies that the independence of the Republic, its separation from the political broil of the old world, shall be surrendered or exchanged for the privilege of becoming a member in the European system. The circle is to be widened so as to take us into the partnership; and this exchange of our independence for more princes and more trade is openly advocated by the imperialistic and commercialistic party in our country. It is proposed that we shall give up nationality for internationality; that we shall surrender our unique historical position for the sake of floating away with the rest. It is proposed, in a word, that we shall tie ourselves up as a party to the so-called Concert of Europe.

If the question now before us contemplated only an Anglo-American alliance in which the English-speaking peoples should plant themselves together, that would be a question to be considered on its merits, and perhaps to be decided in the negative. But if this question means, as it does mean, that the American Republic is to surrender to the Concert of Europe in the interest of commerce and for the upbuilding of the universal monarchy, then the question is not debatable —

except under the rules governing the proceedings in a trial for treason.

Even an Anglo-American alliance is doubtless an impossible thing; that is, it is impossible in the simple form in which it is proposed. Great Britain is already the most powerful single factor in the Concert of Europe. Is it to be imagined that she will break her ties with the European system, and permit that system to fall asunder, with the inevitable consequence of a universal war and a probable military continental empire at the end of it — all this for the sake of a fraternal union with the United States? Not she. Great Britain is willing to have the fraternal union with the United States; but she is not willing to abandon her position as a part of the European system. As between the two things she will keep her place in the Concert, and the Anglo-American fraternity will be abandoned as a sentimental delusion.

We do Great Britain the justice to believe that she is not a very willing partner in the great combination of European states. Time and again she has objected, in her surly way, to the manner in which business is transacted by the firm. Sometimes she has gone so far as to refuse to be assessed, or to sign the obligations of the company. But she is the first and most reputable member of the establishment, and her interest in upholding it is greater than the interest of any other member of the company, with the possible exception of the Turk. Great Britain knows that her withdrawal from the combination, which only twenty years ago, at the treaty of Berlin, she was the most powerful in forming, would be to wreck Europe; that is, to wreck the political frame of Europe. It would subject her friend, the sultan, to almost instantaneous extinction. It would make the Rhine once more the bloodiest battlefield that has ever been known in human annals. It would set the roustabout kaiser of the German Empire wild with all the opportunities and hazards of insane ambition. It would turn loose the tsar on Eastern Europe, and with that the nihilistic bomb under his bedstead would explode! Armenia, Greece, Crete, Bulgaria, Montenegro — what would become of them? What would become of all the peoples? They would be robbed and butchered.

But over and above all these portents another question would sound its voice in the ears of Great Britain if she should break with the Concert; and that is, what would become of her blessed bonds? What would become of the public credit? What would become of the national honor? Nay, nay; Great Britain will not abandon the Concert of Europe. She cannot. What she *would* do under the instigation of a conscience rarely quiet and many times inflamed, it would be hard to say; but what she will do, anyone fairly well informed about the conditions in Europe need have no hesitancy in pointing out. She will remain as the cornerstone of the structure. She will continue to stand in with the other powers, influencing them as much as she can, coddling them when the mood is on and hectoring them when the conditions favor, but always in the final emergency combining with them in upholding the Concert.

If we join Great Britain, therefore, *we shall join the Concert of Europe*. We shall, politically speaking, go back and become a party to that nefarious system which, since the age of Louis XIV of France, has determined the shape, complexion, and purpose of European history. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that the people of the United States should at this crisis of our affairs understand what the Concert of Europe is, to the end that they may with right reason decide whether they will or will not become participants therein.

The Concert of Europe is the agreement of the European powers to stand together in the maintenance of the *status in quo*. By the powers we mean the principal governments of Europe as represented by their rulers, their cabinets, their parliaments, their administrations. These powers have agreed for a long time to uphold the existing order. At bottom they all hate one another profoundly, but the hatred is veneered with protestations. There are not any two of them that are sincerely, or ever have been sincerely, devoted the one to the other. It is in the nature of the thing that they should be hostile. No human governments can be friendly, mutually generous, sincerely devoted each to the interests of the other, except those two governments be democracies.

The people of the world do have a common interest. Indeed all of their interests are ultimately common, and when governments are instituted of the people, by the people, and for them, then those governments are naturally accordant. But every government which is organized on any other than the democratic basis is naturally and essentially hostile to each and every government of its kind. Nevertheless, these inimical powers may find it to their advantage to combine in order to preserve themselves and perpetuate the institutions upon which they rest.

Monarchy takes naturally to this method of self-preservation. No two kings were ever in love with each other, though they may pretend to be in love. They may go into partnership and join their forces in the enterprises of both peace and war; but they will never be at heart devoted to each other's interests. They may agree to assist each other in advancing their mutual ambitions. They may make campaigns side by side. They may sail in the same ship, sleep in the same tent, use the same prayer book, and drink out of the same wine cup, but they will continue to hate all the same. Each will watch his opportunity, and each will stab the other whenever he may do so for patriotic or Christian reasons.

It is on these utterly ignoble principles that the political framework of Europe is constructed. Europe is essentially mediæval. Her geography and history are alike derived from those ages of ignorance at which God winked. The political evolution of the whole concern has been marked with all the prodigious crimes and shames which History is called to preserve and record. Let each for himself read and patiently consider the story of the European states from the close of the wars of the Reformation and the settlement of the continent in its present political conditions by the Treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, unto the present time, and he will find in the history such material as will awake him from his dream and dissipate from his mind all passing delusions about the fraternal regard of nations and the beautiful promotion of civilization and Christianity by the coöperation of brotherly kings.

The Concert of Europe was in the first place undertaken

exclusively for the promotion of individual ambitions. The reigning dynasties just emerging from mediævalism were constantly alarmed lest some greater power might swallow them up. The weaker was ever exposed to the rapacity of the stronger. It was simply a question of force. The element of righteousness was not in it. Each sovereign was in mortal dread of a universal conquest — unless it should be made by himself. In that event he was not afraid of it; but the moment he would lay his hand upon his sword he would see the combination of the rest against him.

Before the close of the seventeenth century the system which sprang out of these conditions was in operation in a great part of Europe. The ambitions of Louis XIV were held in check by the counter ambitions of the governments which opposed him. Great Britain, Holland, and Germany dreaded a universal monarchy — unless Great Britain or Holland or Germany should be that monarchy. They began accordingly to construct plans for the limitation of the powers of the others. They invented the fiction of maintaining the *status in quo*. No one of them intended to preserve the *status in quo* any longer than it was to his advantage to preserve it. But they all solemnly agreed that there should be a European balance of power, and this agreement got itself recorded in treaties. When the treaty was broken by war then another treaty would be made, and in that the balance of power would be reaffirmed. Sometimes the affirmation was made at private conferences and sometimes at public congresses. Now it is at Ryswick; now it is at Utrecht; now at Aix-la-Chapelle; once and again it is at Paris; now it is at Vienna; now, after the Crimean War, it is at Paris again; now it is at Frankfort; now it is at San Stefano; now it is at Berlin; but always the same old song, always the same old mockery of promoting the interests of civilization by preserving the European governments, each against the rapacity of the others by the hypocritical concord of the whole.

Note what this European system of the balance of power has become. Note in particular what it has done. Mark its influence upon the destinies of the civilized life. Mark its attitude toward every question of human rights and in par-

ticular toward the democracy of man. The Concert of Europe is a thing in every respect hurtful to human liberty. The Concert of Europe has never promoted a single measure which was calculated to enlarge the dominion of freedom. It has never failed to endorse and promote such measures as were calculated to restrict and limit and confine the natural aspirations of human life. The Concert of Europe has stood for absolutism. It has never stood for liberalism. It has fought against everything that is progressive and revolutionary in the affairs of the world, and has defended and protected every form of tyranny and oppression, provided only that it has been to the interest of the parties to do it.

Space does not permit me to enumerate any considerable portion of the catalogue of national crimes that may rightfully be charged to the Concert of Europe. Under that system the Crimean War was undertaken by France, England, Sardinia, and Turkey against the Russian Empire. What shall we say of the horrors of that conflict? Do we remember the sufferings of the allied armies before Sebastopol? Do we recall the squalid huts in which thousands of soldiers lay all winter long freezing with the bitter weather and burning by turns with intolerable fever? Do we remember Elizabeth Butler's picture of the *Roll Call in the Snow*? Do we see in the midst of the scene of despair the pale figure of Florence Nightingale moving silently back and forth between the long lines of straw-piles burdened with the bodies of the dead and dying? And for what? To prevent Nicholas from having a fleet in the Black Sea and getting out his commerce into the Mediterranean under the guns of the sultan!

Do we recall the Bulgarian horrors which for years sent a shiver to the very marrow of Christendom? Do we recall those other horrors in the Neapolitan prisons the exposure of which by young William E. Gladstone, in 1851, brought his name first to the knowledge of his country and the world? But the government into whose ears he poured the story did not attack and destroy the Neapolitan despot, because the balance of power forbade the interference. Or do we remember the horrors to which the Cretans have been subjected? Do we recall the recent struggles of the Greeks

and the sudden visitation of Turkish vengeance upon them for their insurrection? Did anyone lay a strong hand upon the Ottoman arm at the time of this assault upon the Greeks? Nay; no arm was lifted, and the reason was that the Concert of Europe was obliged to let the sultan do as he would with his own. Or, over and above it all, do we recall — rather have we forgotten — the unspeakable atrocities with which the people of Armenia have been visited? Has the record been laid aside in which is written the story of the unimaginable butcheries with which the Turks swept the Armenian towns and villages with fire and sword, leaving the wounded to writhe and the dead to fester by hundreds and thousands in the streets? I have myself stooped down and examined, here in America, the horrid sword-scars on head and breast of these Armenian exiles, driven forth by the cruel despotism of the Turk.

There are in the city of Boston more than four thousand Armenians who have fled hither for refuge. One has only to know them in order to recognize their high character and virtues. It is openly and justly boasted by the leaders of the Armenian colony in this city that not one of all their number has, since coming to America, engaged in a disreputable business; not one of them owns a whiskey shop, and not one keeps a brothel. These are the people on whom the Turks fell in the Armenian massacres. Their fathers and brothers and kinsmen; aye, their sisters, their sweethearts, and their wives are sleeping the sleep of death in that far-off land. And they were sent to their doom by the assault of a brutal soldiery turned loose upon them by the authority of the sultan under this blessed Concert of Europe.

Great Britain is a party to it. Great Britain let it be done. She, with all the other principal powers of Europe, had agreed beforehand that it might be done; for they had entered into a compact that the *status in quo* shall be maintained; and this implied that each sovereign, within his own dominions, shall do as he pleases with his own. Are not these good kings who sit on thrones and minister in seraglios the ordained and anointed of God? And shall not we who are the organs and officers of God's administration in

the world uphold our brethren and keep them from harm while they "preserve order" in their dominions and butcher their subjects as they will?

It were easy to fill a volume with the story of what the Concert of Europe has done in the last two centuries of time. The composition of such a work, however, would involve a peculiar mental and moral constitution in the writer. It would imply that he could recite the story of all crimes and shames with intellectual indifference, and that the contemplation of the brutalities which he must consider and record should not convert him into a beast.

Into this Concert of Europe we are asked to enter. We are asked to abandon the traditions of the American Republic and to accept other traditions instead. We are asked to abandon our revolutionary history as an outworn tale. We are asked to agree that the rebellious course taken by our ancestors was an error in policy and a historical crime in its motive. We are asked to accept a system under which all rebellion and all insurrection must be avoided, since rebellion and insurrection are unfavorable to the enterprises of commercialism and a menace to the stability of government. We are asked to adopt a system of society and state in which even a protest against the existing order shall be denounced as an emanation of anarchy. We are asked to accept the theorem that human society ceased in its evolution in the sixteenth century — that while all other facts and phenomena in the natural and spiritual world have gone on in the progress from the worse to the better condition, political society and the civil form of states and nations have progressed not in the least, and never shall progress again.

If it were not a repetition of what has been a hundred, aye, a thousand times already recited, I would again enumerate some of the facts in the current history of Europe, all of which are necessary to the Concert, and all of which are upheld and defended by it. Look for example at the military condition of Europe. It is a field of armies and arsenals. It is a bivouac and a fortress. Every state has a prodigious standing army, constantly re-armed and re-supplied with the newest weapons and the most deadly missiles of destruction.

We should not be surprised if the target practice of Europe costs year by year as much as all its asylums!

The annual military expenditure of the nations is something that would be appalling to any other association of mortals, except only the managers of the balance of power. Every dollar of this incalculable expenditure is drawn from the labor of Europe. It is taken without an equivalent from the toiling masses. What do the European governments give back to their people in return and compensation for their infinite outlay of toil and blood? These governments give back to their subjects one privilege—the privilege to be shot in the interest of Christian civilization.

Meanwhile, the tsar visits the emperor, and the emperor visits the tsar. Both of them visit the capital of France. To the credit of Victoria be it said that she does not make many calls. But she has to receive calls and to express her "distinguished consideration" for the personages who make them. When the barbarous and bloodthirsty Shah comes around she must entertain him; for he is her brother! He must stand at the royal reception on the dais by the side of the Prince of Wales. When the sultan comes, he too is the Empress's good brother; he must be honored even with the bloody stains of the Bulgarian butcheries on him. Aye, more; we can hardly doubt that, under the prevailing conditions in our own Republic, Muzaffar-ed-din and Abdul the Damned would be acceptable guests at Washington city. The fraternal regard of nations would require a presidential reception in order that the representatives of the sixteenth century should be embraced and caressed by the representative of the nineteenth century.

I recall the fact that on a certain occasion, after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Elizabeth of England received the Spanish ambassador in a room dimly lighted and hung in black. It is probable that the frown on the face of Bessie Tudor on that occasion was something fearful to see. But Abdul-Hamid would not be received with a frown at the presidential mansion. Thus far at least we have proceeded towards a cheerful acceptance of a place in the Concert of Europe. To this extent the democratic Republic instituted

by our fathers has been already degraded; and now under the specious invitation to enter into a fraternal alliance with England we are asked to exchange our national independence for an international dependence on the powers of Europe — Turkey with the rest.

There is a reason for all things. There is a profound reason for the overture which has been made to us to become participant in an Anglo-American alliance. It is the old story over again. The overture of friendship and sympathy, the invitation to form a union on the basis of language and race, has come for the reason that it is necessary in order to drive the last nail in the coffin of financial righteousness. Before the death of Gladstone, when the question was pending in England of restoring the bimetallic system of currency, the veteran statesman, forgetting the prodigious blunder which he made in his Newcastle speech during our Civil War, referred publicly and in a jocular manner to the fact that Great Britain, having invested about ten billions of dollars in America, was not likely to accept in payment any measure of value except gold. Great Britain had not become so philanthropic as to give away a part of her claim by permitting it to be discharged in silver *or* gold at the option of the payer. These sayings went abroad as an example of aphoristic wisdom proceeding from the sage of Hawarden.

The sage, however, omitted to mention the fact that every dollar of British investment in the United States, unless privately stipulated to be payable in gold, was made on the basis of our American bimetallic system of money — that every dollar of it was legally, rightfully, justly, payable according to the terms of our system; that is, in silver *or* gold at the option of the payer. He omitted to state the fact that the contract between the British bondholders and the American debtors is specifically a *coin* contract, and that "coin" notoriously signifies both silver *and* gold as a standard of final payment. He omitted to state the fact that any deviation from the contract, as here defined, is in the nature of a national and international fraud — of which, in the case under consideration, Great Britain would be the beneficiary and America the loser.

The course of events in the United States for the last ten years has indicated unmistakably the complete restoration of our impaired bimetallic system of money. If that restoration can be prevented by any power, national or international, then, of a certainty, all the obligations of the United States will be made payable in gold only, in which event Great Britain will receive her payment according to the coveted standard of gold. If the complete restoration of our bimetallic system should be effected, then Great Britain as our principal creditor will have to accept in payment the dollar of the law and the contract; that is, the alternative dollar of silver or gold at the option of the payer. To prevent this contingency is one of the most powerful and interested motives which has existed since that date when the "preservation of the public credit" and the "defence of the national honor" became the hypocritical watchwords of the money kings of the world.

If we should enter into a fraternal embrace with Great Britain—if we should become allied with her in intimate friendship and coöperation in the manner suggested by the prevailing enthusiasm—then, of a certainty, the bimetallic system of money will receive its quietus forever. Then, of a certainty, will the dollar of the contract be finally discarded from both the national and international business of mankind, and the single standard of gold will be riveted upon all nations. To accomplish this end is worth much to Great Britain. To accomplish it is a burden to the United States. To accomplish this end will fill the coffers of the money lords of London and Amsterdam to overflowing with the gold of the American mines and mints; but it will leave the United States impoverished, and will reduce our people ultimately to industrial servitude.

If this were just we should have nothing to say; but it is not just. On the contrary, it is wholesale outrage and robbery. We have not promised to discharge our obligations to Europe according to the standard of gold. This fact is so notorious that when the recent bond-grab of \$400,000,000 was carried through Congress under the pretence of furnishing revenue for the prosecution of the Spanish war the bonds ordered were once more by specification made payable, not in

gold, but in *coin* only. The policy of the money power in all the world is to force upon the word "coin" the meaning *gold*; and the hope of doing this has been the deep-down motive with those who have touched off the prevailing conflagration of sentiment and enthusiasm for an Anglo-American alliance.

We will have none of it. We are not to be taken in. Our gullible age has passed. Bitter experience has somewhat improved our faculties. We intend to stand fast with the old democratic Republic. We intend to stand with it or fall with it. Our fortunes are all involved, and our hopes for the future, the aspirations which we cherish for the coming glory of a free government, instituted by the people for themselves, are all part and parcel of the policy of national independence as against all entanglements with foreign powers.

There are conditions, however, under which the case may be different. If the concession shall be made from the other side and not from this side, then we are willing to join hands and fortunes with all them that make it. What does the concession involve? It involves on the part of the European governments *the abandonment of their mediæval pretensions and the acceptance of democracy as the bottom principle of society and state.* With this, AND NOTHING LESS THAN THIS, we shall be satisfied. We, too, hope in some good day to see internationality accomplished. We, also, cherish the dream that the time will come when nations shall be fraternal. But we have one undeviating principle upon which our hope and our dream are based; and that principle is, and that dream is that the nations, becoming fraternal, shall also become both democratic and humane.

Hereditary monarchy, and indeed monarchy of any kind, consists not with human liberty and with the welfare of the race. Monarchy is a sham; it is a delusion. It has no right to exist. Whatever may be its antecedents, it is an offence against civilization. As long as monarchy exists the standing army will exist; the floating navy will exist. As long as monarchy exists the rulers of the world will continue to express to each other their "distinguished consideration,"

and at the same time will plant their swords in each other's pericardia.

For the English people we have the greatest respect, and the respect is mingled with admiration and affection. The English people are among the strongest, if not the very strongest, type of mankind. They have substantial merits which cannot be overlooked by any unprejudiced mind. The English people have fought a victorious battle over nature, and a glorious battle with barbarism. They have shown a power and a persistency the like of which we think has not been witnessed in any other age or nation. They have colonized the world; they have mastered the inhospitable ocean. They have planted dominions on foreign shores. Our own Thirteen States of the eighteenth century were the result of English planting. We grew out of the loins of this strong, resolute, determined, and liberty-loving stock of men, and we shall not be behind in awarding to them the full praise to which they are entitled.

It is against the institutional life of Great Britain that we protest. It is the fear of that institutional life which holds us back even in this day of rampant fraternalism. We adopt with only a slight change of phraseology the old Vergilian verse :

"Timeo Britannos et dona ferentes."

We distrust the Britons even when they bring their gifts — not because of a want of appreciation of the race character of our more remote ancestors, but because of the organic conditions in which the Britons are involved. They have a hereditary monarchy. They have an aristocratic organization of society. They have an absolute House of Lords. They have the absurd principle and practice of primogeniture. They have the doctrine of entail. They have everything of an institutional character which is not democratic — except always the magnificent House of Commons and the Responsible Ministry. It is because of this institutional depravity, and because of what we believe to be the interested motive of commercialism threatening to enforce upon us by a deceitful intrigue the necessity of paying to the bondholders of Great Britain fully ten billions of dollars by

the single standard of gold, when every dollar of the debt was contracted on the basis of our bimetallic system in the United States, — it is for this reason that we are obliged to reject the proffered hand and to go on our solitary way of independence and separate nationality.

As to the hand of the English people, we grasp it, because we think that ultimately it is, or will be, the hand of democracy; and whoever in this world — whether it be on shore or sea, whether it be of the white man, the yellow man, or the man in black — extends the hand of democracy to us, it shall be seized with an answering clasp for the promotion, not of such a fact as the Concert of Europe, but for the promotion of a humane and generous civilization throughout the earth.

Good

THE CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE INSANE:

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CASE OF
EUGENE BURT.*

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THERE is a widespread and growing conviction that the reform of the criminal law is a pressing necessity. In another paper † I ventured to suggest, as accounting in a large measure for the inefficiency of our penal statutes, the fact that they are enacted, for the most part, by men who make no pretension to scientific knowledge, and are notoriously averse to being advised. The unwise policy that obtains in some States of paying legislators day-laborers' wages is largely responsible for this. Such pay is not calculated to command a high order of lawmaking talent. The legislature is composed of representative citizens,—farmers, merchants, mechanics, lawyers,—most of whom have no knowledge of science, and do not want to be told; they cannot be prevailed upon to make any reforms in accord with the teachings of science. It is this element that defeats all efforts of the medical profession in Texas to secure legislation in the interest of public health. That the jurisprudence of insanity is far behind the present status of medical science on this subject is very generally admitted; it belongs to a past age, and is therefore not adapted to the needs of a later-day civilization. On this head Judge Abbott ‡ says:

"The rude division into 'idiots' and 'lunatics' of two centuries ago survives in jurisprudence to-day. . . . Jurisprudence has had no peculiar method of studying the subject, but has been accustomed to follow the course of medical

* This paper is substantially a lecture which was delivered by invitation before the Law School of the University of Texas in May, 1897.

† "A Plea for Reform in Criminal Jurisprudence."

‡ "Reference Handbook of Medical Sciences."

science, and to accept, sometimes indeed only after long hesitation and inquiry, the results which skilful and experienced alienists have united in declaring established."

This is a remarkable statement. What other course than that of medical science should our lawmakers follow in legislating upon a subject better understood by physicians than by any other class of investigators? From what other source is it to be expected that jurisprudence would derive the information necessary to guide them in settling questions involving the sanity of a supposed offender?

"The English law," says Mr. Tracy Becker,* "recognizes two states of mental disease: 1st, 'Dementia Naturalis,' and 2nd, 'Dementia Adventitia,' under which head general insanity is included." There are forty-four forms of insanity known to alienists.

My convictions on this subject have been greatly strengthened by witnessing recently in Austin, Texas, the trial of a man for the murder of his family under circumstances of peculiar atrocity; a man evidently insane. That case forms the basis of this criticism. The facts as elicited at the trial are as follows. The killing by defendant, and everything as detailed below, were admitted by the defence notwithstanding that there were no witnesses, and that all the evidence as to the act itself was circumstantial. I quote from brief of defendant:

"On the night of July 24, 1896, defendant (W. E. Burt, white, native Texan, age 27) and his wife were at home at half-past eight or nine o'clock, when by the nurse the younger child was delivered to him, and the elder to the wife. After the lapse of a little while he went to the dining-room, filled a bottle with milk for such younger child, went upstairs to the room where he and his wife and children slept, leaving the wife, the elder child, and the servant in the lower rooms; this was the last of the younger child ever seen alive. After a time the servant departed, and did not return until 11 o'clock. All was quiet in the house at that time. A day or two before this he was seen coming from the stable with a grass sack in his hand which contained something. At some hour

* Withaus and Becker's "System of Medical Jurisprudence."

of the night, in their bedroom, the defendant killed his wife and two children by striking each of them in the right temple and side of the face with a hatchet, crushing the bones of the face, and fracturing the skulls. He then tightly tied around the throat of each a handkerchief, sufficiently so to produce strangulation and suffocation; then enveloped the body of the wife, except the feet, in a blanket, and wound around the blanket ropes so as to keep the blanket in place and the body enveloped. He tied the hands and feet of the two children with wires and other ligatures, they being in their nightclothes. He then conveyed the bodies, by some means, in his arms (or by lowering them from a window, or through it, casting them out), from the upstairs room to the lower floor, to an underground cistern in the basement of the house, and cast the three bodies therein, and then nailed down the top of the cistern, which had been ripped off to admit the bodies. There was water in the cistern sufficient to submerge the bodies; the water in the cistern was in daily use by the household thereof. He took the handle of the cistern pump and secreted it. [Not a sign or stain of blood was seen anywhere.]

"The servant returned about 11 o'clock and slept in the house, but heard no noise except a faint dreamlike remembrance of hearing a child cry. The next morning at about 7 o'clock he rapped at the servant's door, awakening her, and requesting her to go to market, a thing she was not in the habit of doing. He was not seen again until the servant returned from market. On her return she took the tea-kettle, purposing to fill it with water, and in taking hold of it made a noise, when defendant said to her, 'Don't use the water from the cistern, as a cat fell in there last night.' Some questions about the wife and children arose, when he said that he had had some trouble in the night, and had sent them to San Antonio on the 5 o'clock train, but that they would be back Tuesday or Wednesday and everything would be in readiness to go keeping house at the Scott place. His breakfast being prepared, defendant gave a note to the servant to be carried to a cartman, directing him to go to the store of defendant's brothers and procure and bring

to the house some boxes; he also gave her some money to buy some nails and bring to him; all of which was done as directed; and the cartman, on bringing the boxes, was requested to return at 3 or 4 o'clock. He ate his breakfast; he sent the servant with a note to a second-hand furniture man to come and look at the furniture and other household effects. He came and looked at the effects, and asked the price wanted, and was told one hundred and fifty dollars, but finally he agreed to take sixty-five dollars, and the trade was consummated at those figures, and the goods delivered.

"During the day the bloody clothing, sheets, bolsters, and pillows, and other blankets, comforts, all more or less bloody, a bloody hatchet, the hats and bonnets of the wife and miscellaneous clothing of the children (not bloody), bloody cotton from the mattress, portions of the ticking from a mattress, all bloody, were all packed in the packing boxes and nailed up, and at 4 o'clock delivered to the cartman to be conveyed to the transportation office for shipment from a fictitious person to a fictitious person in Houston, Texas. The addresses on the boxes were written in a feigned handwriting by the defendant. During the day he had various money transactions with different persons, wrote various notes, tore some up, and others were delivered to the persons to whom written. He was in or about the house the greater part of the day. In the evening the milkman came, whom defendant met at the door and said, 'This is the milkman,' got a pitcher for the milk, and told him the family had moved to 912 Rio Grande Street (there being no such street number), and that the next day he, the milkman, would find in the milk pitcher two tickets instead of one. At that time he appeared weary, as if having been hard at work, in shirt sleeves, breathing hard, and face flushed. He packed three valises and put them in the back premises of the next house during the evening.

"Later in the evening, towards night, he went to a hotel, ate supper, went to a barber shop and was shaved; returned to the hotel and played checkers until towards train time. Did not conceal the fact that he was on the eve of departure. To one he said he was going to Dallas; to another,

San Antonio; to another, Georgetown; to another, Fort Worth. At the time named he went to the place where he had deposited his valises, obtained them, and made his way to the depot; remained in and around the depot until train time; train came in at about 11.40 P. M. Did not buy a ticket to Chicago, boarded the train, rode on it in a seat with a party whom he knew and who knew him, conversed on different subjects.

"He was apprehended in Chicago about thirty days thereafter, and extradited for trial on charge of having murdered his wife and children. At the time of the murder he was out of business, without any ready means; judgment of forcible detainer had been rendered against him for the possession of the house in which he lived; process to oust him was in the hands of an officer, and the 24th of July was the last day he had permission of the owner to remain on the premises. [I will here state that he was under the impression that his bondsmen were going to give him up to the law to stand trial for forgery or embezzlement, for which he stood indicted, and his prospects for a long term of imprisonment were very strong. It is important to bear this in mind.] At no time anterior to the said July 24, nor on that day, nor on the day subsequent thereto, did he, to many friends and acquaintances, and those with whom he transacted business, present a demeanor, appearance, habits, or conversation different to what was usual with him."

The affection of the accused towards his family was a noted and remarked fact by those who knew them. He was indicted in one count charging murder of wife, the killing alleged to have been done with some cutting instrument; 2nd, by strangulation; and 3d, by drowning. The plea of "not guilty" was entered. The defence was insanity; but no suggestion was made that the defendant was insane at the time of the trial.

A hypothetical question based on the foregoing facts was submitted to Dr. T. D. Wooten, his two sons, Drs. Joseph S. and G. H. Wooten, Dr. M. M. Smith, Dr. R. S. Graves, city physician, Dr. J. A. Davis, late assistant physician at the lunatic asylum, and Dr. B. M. Worsham, superintendent

of the State lunatic asylum at Austin, witnesses for the State. They gave it as their opinion that on the night of July 24, 1896, Burt was sane. These gentlemen, or some of them, at the request of the State's attorneys, examined the defendant in jail, taking measurements of his head, testing the reflexes, etc., with the purpose of ascertaining his mental condition at the time of the trial, a question not at issue; and they gave it as their opinion that he was sane.

The hypothetical question embraced none of the facts elicited from witnesses for the defence, presently to be enumerated. When a hypothetical question, embracing exclusively the facts elicited from witnesses for the defence, was put to these same witnesses, they gave it as their opinion that on the night of July 24 Burt was insane. These facts were:

1. There was insanity in the family; it was hereditary; had appeared in grandfather and other members.
2. His mother, while pregnant with him, was wild, violently insane, and had to be restrained.
3. He was a congenital moral pervert.
4. In childhood he was cruel, stole, lied.
5. As he grew to manhood he became alienated from his brothers, his only near relatives, and without cause.
6. Subsequently he became silent, morose; stole money, embezzled money, and committed forgery when there was no need of doing so; forging checks for trifling sums, \$2 and \$4.
7. He was devoted to his wife and children; had often been seen helping his wife in her household duties, even cooking; and he spent his evenings at home in preference to elsewhere, apparently preferring the society of his family to all other.
8. For the killing there was no ascertainable reason or cause.

Dr. R. M. Swearingen, State Health Officer and Surgeon-General of Texas, Dr. J. W. McLaughlin, Dr. R. P. Talley, an uncle of the accused, physicians of large experience in general practice, and Dr. R. K. Smoot, a Presbyterian minister of Austin, were witnesses for defence. All of them had known the accused more or less intimately since his childhood. These witnesses gave it as their opinion that on the night of July

24 Burt was insane, Dr. McLaughlin qualifying his opinion by saying that he was "morally insane," a congenital "moral pervert." Dr. D. R. Wallace, of Waco, Texas, also summoned by defence, a physician of many years' experience in treating the insane, having long been superintendent of the State asylums at Austin and Terrell, and perhaps of all those summoned best qualified to give an opinion on the subject, gave it as his opinion that at the time of the killing defendant was of unsound mind. When asked if he was insane, he answered "No, not insane, but of unsound mind."

That is a distinction without a difference. All authorities agree that "insane" and "of unsound mind" are synonymous; that a person of unsound mind is insane. Professor Fisher says: "There is no distinction between 'insanity' and 'unsound mind.'"*

So that Dr. Wallace, though unintentionally, gave it as his opinion that Burt was insane on the night of the killing. Nevertheless, his opinion, as worded by himself, had the moral effect of an opinion adverse to the accused, and was so accepted by the court.

It was also in evidence that defendant had been a bright boy. He had been brought up under good moral influences, his parents being eminently respectable Christian people, and he had had a happy home; yet at an early age he showed marked depravity; would lie and steal, and was cruel to dumb creatures; nailed a living rabbit to the ground, for instance. He was an affectionate son and brother. At the time of his father's death (his father had been a popular physician in Austin) in July, 1886, when this boy was sixteen years and nine months old, a marked change came over his nature and conduct. From a genial, happy member of a peaceful household, he suddenly became morose, taciturn, suspicious; held off from intercourse with the family; became alienated from his brothers, who are exemplary citizens of Austin, and who did all in their power to assist him in his misfortunes and pecuniary troubles. They took him into their employment when he failed at all else, but he stole goods and money which he could have had for the asking;

* Witthaus and Becker's "System of Medical Jurisprudence."

paid him out of several scrapes, and were on his bond at the time of this act, he being, as stated, under indictment for forgery or embezzlement. He regarded his brothers as his enemies, and had the belief that they had designs on his life. They had to send him away from their place of business.

A point here furnishes a link in the chain of presumptive evidence of insanity, which was not mentioned at the trial or brought to the attention of the experts. At the time of his father's death, when the first marked change in the boy's character was observed, he was in his seventeenth year, at the age of puberty, when any tendency to insanity is apt to be developed. So well is this established that the "insanity of puberty" is enumerated as one of the marked forms of the disease. In this case, with a strong hereditary predisposition, the marked change of habits and manners, taken in connection with the early evidences of a blunted sense, would appear to be a valuable diagnostic sign, which furnishes a link in the chain of the progressive development of the disease. A characteristic of this form of insanity is that the subject takes strong dislikes, especially to his nearest relatives.

The verdict of the jury was murder in the first degree, and the penalty death. An appeal was taken, and on June 9, 1897, the appellate court affirmed the verdict, and on May 27 last the accused was hanged.

From the standpoint of the medical jurist, the jurisprudence of insanity is defective in at least three particulars :

1. The defendant in a case of the kind under consideration has not the benefit of a diagnosis by the light of modern science, because recent discoveries and conclusions of medical science are not comprehended in the existing system. The laws have not been made to conform thereto, nor do the courts permit text-books, the standard authorities, to be quoted in support of alleged insanity.

2. The law leaves to the determination of a jury, often of unenlightened men, metaphysical questions that baffle the ablest scientific minds, to wit: the existence or non-existence of insanity, the degree of impairment of free will, and the extent of responsibility of a person adjudged insane by medical experts.

3. The courts do not exercise proper discrimination in allowing medical men to pose as experts.

1. We will show what the popular and generally accepted conceptions of insanity are, and the old pathology on which the system of jurisprudence is based, and compare it with modern conclusions as established by the latest authorities, on which, as I contend, a revised system should be formulated.

Professor Charles F. Folsom says: *

"The popular idea of insanity is of wild, incoherent, or crazy conduct. If maniacal, the timid, frightened young girl, who would not hurt a fly, and the tottering, harmless old man, if confused and partly demented, are hurried off to an asylum, . . . while the victim of overwhelming delusions, because he seems clear, logical, and collected, is vigorously defended against the physician's imputation of insanity, until he commits an offence against the laws, when he is fortunate if he is not treated as a criminal. It is often impossible for judges, juries, counsel, and even medical experts to wholly divest themselves of the popular notions of insanity in cases appealing strongly to the passions or prejudices of the day. Cases involving the question of responsibility for crime are decided against science and the evidence, because of certain preconceived notions of insanity which no amount of skilled opinion can controvert. Jurors and, less often, judges make up their minds what a sane man would do under given conditions, and of what an insane man is capable, judging from the facts within their own experience; and in forming their decision it is the act itself, and not the man, diseased or otherwise, in connection with the act, that chiefly governs them. . . . Strange, apparently purposeless, illogical, inconsistent action is frequently attributed to the author being insane on that subject, whereas he may be simply acting from a strong impulse or emotion, and may be by no means insane. On the other hand, because a man knows right from wrong in the abstract, and can ordinarily behave well, the very characteristic workings of his insane mind are often seized upon as unquestionable proof of sanity, even when admitting of no other explanation to the skilled physician

* Pepper's "System of Medicine."

than that of insanity. . . . With precisely the same degree of insanity, and the same power to control their actions, two murderers may be sentenced, the one to death for an act where the motive and method were those of the criminal, and the other to an insane asylum for killing a person under circumstances which are not explainable by sane reason."

Buchnill says:*

"It is a trite but most important observation that in the question of what constitutes insanity, the members of the two great and learned professions, law and medicine, entertain essentially different and seemingly irreconcilable views, and that on the question of the irresponsibility of criminals who are supposed to be insane, there is a wide chasm of difference between them. To a certain extent this is true, and perhaps inevitable; and the reason for it is not hard to find: that the two professions have to regard insanity and to deal with the insane with different aims and purposes—the physician to prevent and cure, the main question with him being to prevent its interference with the duration and enjoyment of life. To the lawyer . . . the sole question is its existence, its degree, and its influence on the conduct; it is, with him, not a medical question, but a moral one. . . . The degree of loss of free will is a question for the jury; the fact that the will is impaired is for the expert to establish. . . . A person may be insane medically, yet not in the eye of the law. It is for the jury or experts to determine the fact of insanity; the courts to determine its effects on civil rights."

Like the shield which to one observer was golden, and to the other argent, insanity presents itself in different aspects according as it is regarded from one standpoint or another.

"Our conception of mental disease," says Professor Fisher,† "depends entirely whether we look at it from a medical or a legal standpoint."

Ray says (*ibid.*):

"Insanity in medicine has to do with a prolonged departure of the individual from his natural mental state, arising from bodily disease. Insanity in law covers nothing more

* "Insanity in its Legal Relation."

† Withhams and Becker's "System of Medical Jurisprudence,"

than the relation of the person and the particular act which is the subject of judicial investigation. The legal problem is, whether there was mental capacity and moral freedom to do, or abstain from doing, that particular act. The general meaning of insanity in law is, a permanently disordered state of the mind, produced by disease, and beyond the control of the individual."

Professor B. Sachs says : *

"Very few legal minds have been able to get beyond this antiquated view of the relation of insanity to crime. In Germany and France the more intelligent judges have been guided by the opinions of the medical experts, but even there they are not bound by such opinions; and it has happened time and again that the judge, having asked for and received the opinion of the expert, has promptly set it aside and decided the question to the contrary. . . . This right and wrong test has been the stumbling-block in the advance of legal psychiatry; and, as a matter of fact, if the test were applied to the insane (in an asylum), nine out of every ten would have to be declared sane, for the most of them are perfectly aware of the nature of the acts they commit; the majority of them know that they are right or wrong according to the ordinary standards; but they are impelled, either by sudden influences or by sudden forcible delusion, to the commission of acts which they know to be wrong, and which they, if sane, would never have committed."

Witthaus and Becker say : †

"The knowledge of right and wrong is not a fair criterion, as many insane men possess that knowledge well enough in the abstract. . . . A man may know right from wrong, and yet not have the will power to abstain from doing what he knows to be wrong."

Dr. R. M. Bucke, superintendent of the largest insane asylum in Canada, with a view to determine this question, canvassed the 1,034 inmates, and found that 763 "were perfectly capable of realizing and appreciating such an act as homicide in its moral and legal relations." In other words,

* *Insanity and Crime*; Hamilton's "System of Legal Medicine."

† "System of Medical Jurisprudence."

"nearly three-fourths of the inmates were responsible and fit subjects for capital punishment as the law now exists." (See his report for 1896.)

Dr. John B. Hamilton, superintendent of State Lunatic Asylum of Illinois, in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, says :

"The legal standard of responsibility (knowing right from wrong) given in the famous answer of the judges to the House of Lords in connection with the celebrated McNaughten case, . . . which has been adopted in this country, has always, from the first, had the disapproval of competent alienists, those who of all men are best qualified to estimate the responsibility of the mentally defective. They have used every argument against it; have proved that it is a false criterion in almost every possible way, have shown clinically and pathologically its incorrectness, but have not as yet been able to thoroughly eradicate the belief in its validity from the legal mind."

He stigmatizes it as "irrational barbarism." The celebrated alienist Dr. Morel was seized with an irresistible impulse to throw a working man into the river, and fled from the spot to prevent doing so. Numerous cases are recorded illustrating this lack of power to resist an impulse, knowing it to be wrong; no fact is better established in the whole science of criminology. In works on medical jurisprudence a case is related of a woman who had an impulse to kill her children and asked to be locked up. Such cases are innumerable.

To many persons the sight of a sharp instrument prompts the desire or impulse to kill some one; and there are persons who dare not carry such weapons for fear they may do themselves or friends harm. Burt, when arrested, asked the sheriff to take his knife, "for fear he might hurt some one." There is, indeed, a form of insanity called "reasoning insanity," in which the person understands what he is doing and the true relation of the act in its social and legal aspects. "He, however, prefers the consequences to the restless, unhappy state of mind that exists until it is done." (Dr. Hamilton, *ubi supra*.)

The greatest advances in the study of mental diseases have been made within the last quarter of a century. Within that period medical science has realized that insanity is a manifestation of disease of the brain (though disease of the brain is not necessarily insanity); that the brain, the organ of the mind, is the seat of the disease; and that there can be no such thing as partial insanity. A man is insane or he is not insane, as he may be sick or well; but it is a matter of degree. Thus for the first time in the history of medicine has there been a scientific basis for insanity; and the study suggested by this view has enabled alienists to formulate a rational classification of the disease. In that time, too, a new science has been born, the science of criminology, or criminal anthropology; and those cases known to alienists as "borderland cases," so-called moral insanity, a condition between insanity and depravity, and barely distinguishable, if at all, are now recognized as forms of congenital madness. Gorofalo was the first to differentiate them, and to him belongs the credit of defining their characteristics. Lombroso, Gorofalo, Ferri, and others of the new school describe these as "congenital delinquents," "degenerates," "natural insane criminals;" and with painstaking care Ferri* has pointed out the distinguishing features of each class. Lombroso and his followers have even formulated a set of physical defects or marks — "stigmata" — as distinctive and diagnostic.

This new school classifies criminals into: (1) The madman born (the born murderer is a born madman); (2) The homicide by occasion; (3) The homicide by passion; (4) The habitual homicide. None of these concern us except the first, the natural criminal, who is always mad. He is born to kill; and, given the opportunity and the impulse, he can no more help killing than a stone can help falling when thrown into the air; he kills in obedience to an impulse for which he is not responsible, and which he cannot control.

In the congenital criminal insane (mark the distinction between "criminal insane" and "insane criminal," the one being born insane with homicidal impulses; the other being a criminal who has become insane.— Flint) the most marked

* Enrique Ferri on "Homicide," vol. 2.

psychological characteristics, as pointed out by Ferri (who uses for this class the synonym, "congenital delinquent," or "born delinquent," that is, the victim of an hereditary predisposition to insanity, with homicidal impulses), are: moral and physical insensibility; insensibility toward the victim, toward the sufferings of others; a cold ferocity in the execution of the crime; an apathetic impassibility after committing the crime, and even at the sight of the victim; quiet sleep after the deed; impassibility to their punishment, and indifference to death, often resulting in suicide. This ferocity, this indifference, says Ferri, this insensibility of the born homicide, serve as a psychological explanation of other characteristics conjoined to these. The indifference is chronic, manifesting itself in preoccupation with most trivial things, which cannot be attributed to corruption during confinement. (Note Burt's trifling conduct in prison: his putting on a mask and charging a fee to show his face, etc.). They feel no repugnance to the idea or to the act of homicide; they have no moral sense; they have no remorse concerning their offence. "To this absence of remorse must be added stubborn denial, indifference as to escaping punishment, and the easy adaptation to prison life."

"Altruistic sentiments," says the author, "such as love, family affection, etc., are not lacking in the congenital mad homicide. They are not even incapable of noble actions, but their immoral temperament renders them unstable, contradictory, and thus that same altruistic sentiment may find expression in their very crime."

The fundamental psychological characteristic he defines thus: "An abnormal impulsiveness of action, for lack of, or owing to weak, power of resistance to criminal desires; a normal man subject to such impulses can resist them." He cites also the case of Dr. Morel and other cases. The congenital mad homicide cannot thus defend himself. These facts are due, he says, to congenital weakness or arrest of development; such defectives are not apt, not educated, to resist. Of the psycho-pathological symptoms of the congenital mad homicide, Ferri says: "The deliberations of this unhappy person are due to either a slow invasion of the

homicidal idea" (which he calls "homicidal obsession") or "momentary impulse." Hence two distinct generic types of psycho-pathological characteristics.

In the first type the desire to commit crime "springs from a slow and reflective process, which increases from the weak or static state (obsession) until it becomes an irresistible impulse and takes violent and dynamic form, finding vent in the criminal act. Sometimes he has a perfect cognizance of his own madness, of the act he intends to commit, and of the punishment due to it; nevertheless this will not, cannot, deter him unless external or fortuitous causes intervene." The madman affected by homicidal obsession is incapable of restraining himself. This author cites the case of a man who, unable to dominate the violent force impelling him to murder his wife and children, consigned himself to the police and had himself locked up.

In the second type the determination to homicide "proceeds from a spontaneous impulse" (as was Dr. Swearingen's opinion in the Burt case), the "transitory mania" of the old school of psychiatry; "impulsive insanity" (homicidal) of the newer; "impulsive vertigo," without a real motive.

Perhaps the most significant characteristic distinguishing the born murderer (congenital mad delinquent) from the murderer by habit or occasion, as pointed out by Ferri, whose work may be taken as the exponent of the latest teachings on insanity and crime, is that, whereas the latter has always some selfish purpose or benefit in view, antisocial in its nature, murder being a means to that end, with the congenital criminal insane (of which class I regard Burt as a striking illustration) the murder is itself the end; killing to kill, impulse without motive, or as "a means to an end more often social or juridic;" that is, "as a defence of the victims from misery or want, or a worse fate."

Still another characteristic of the born insane homicide which Ferri names, is that he is possessed with the idea (obsession) to sacrifice the victim for his own good, or for the good of both self and victim. I have not the slightest doubt that Burt intended to complete the tragedy by suicide, but that either he was interrupted by some circumstance,

or the obsession passed off before he effected his purpose. Ferri also says of the congenital mad murderer, that his previous conduct is often regular, when suddenly, some time before the murder, a change of life and character takes place. Striking characteristics are: his attitude during trial; his protests that he is not mad; the dissimulation of his insanity, or even his simulating another form of madness than that from which he suffers; non-resistance to arrest; no attempt, or a silly one, to escape.

"The absence of any real motive," says Professor Fisher,* "the history of hereditary taint, a neurotic disposition, seem to establish proof of mental weakness, at least approximating the confines of insanity."

Mr. Louis E. Binsse says: †

"Evidence of the want of motive on the part of the accused for the perpetration of the deed is considered to be a strong corroboration of the fact of irresponsibility."

Chief Justice Hornblower (*State vs. Spencer*, N. Y.) says:

"I do not say that the absence of apparent motive invariably exists in cases of homicide committed by insane persons, but I say it generally is the case."

"Motiveless homicidal ideas occur to husbands and wives and parents with reference to those dearest to them, under conditions of prolonged mental strain." (Witthaus and Becker.)

"Statistics show that killing of near relatives by the congenital mad homicide occurs eight times oftener than that of any other." (*Ibid.*) "A crime performed without accomplices, with no plan or a silly one for escape, and no sane motive, is usually itself evidence of insanity." (*Ibid.*)

The last rational act Burt is known to have done on the night of the tragedy was to take his baby from the arms of the nurse, while the mother took the elder child, fill its bottle with milk, feed it, undress it, and get it to sleep. Within an hour or so he brained it and the others with a hatchet. Was that the act of a sane man? He packed and shipped the bloody garments and the hatchet to Houston;

* Witthaus and Becker's "System of Medical Jurisprudence."

† "Theory of Criminal Responsibility."

he went to Chicago and mingled with the people in the most public place, the Board of Exchange, meeting there acquaintances who recognized him, yet returned there again and again, knowing that a reward was offered for his arrest. Was that an effort to escape? The State asserted that there was a motive, but the best they could offer was "the proceeds of the sale of the furniture, \$65." That is too absurd for serious consideration.

2. The most unjust and pernicious feature in our system of jurisprudence in the adjudication of cases like Burt's is that which leaves to a jury the determining of the question of the existence of insanity in the accused, the degree of impairment of will power, and his responsibility to the law. Where the opinions of the medical experts as to the existence of insanity clash, as they almost always do, it is left to the jury to decide. As the average jurymen is not usually of a high order of intelligence, — indeed, in some cases the jurymen is selected because of his want of knowledge, ignorance being a qualification to serve, — the absurdity of the law is apparent.

A fact is something that can be demonstrated. The best informed alienist cannot state as a fact that insanity exists in a given individual; its existence is a matter of opinion, of judgment, the result of a process of *a posteriori* reasoning, a conclusion arrived at from weighing all the evidence, from comparing the relation of facts one to another, and their bearings. The average jurymen has not the faculty to thus reason, because, no matter how high his native intelligence, his mind has not been trained by study. The differences of opinion between medical expert witnesses mark the differences in their grade of intelligence and learning, as well as in their power to reason from effect to cause. The medical man with an analytical mind, vast learning and experience, is not liable to reach the same conclusion on a metaphysical subject, even with the same facts before him, as one of a different order of mind, or of less experience or reasoning power. Hence the differences between expert medical witnesses, so often ridiculed, are not so illogical when looked at in the light of cultivated intelligence. It is peculiarly

the mission of medical science to discover the cause of disease. Insanity is a disease, and, as such, is as much the exclusive province of the medical man as is smallpox. It requires more ability to recognize occult mental disease than any other pathological condition, and yet our system of jurisprudence relegates these intricate questions to the verdict of jurymen profoundly ignorant of everything pertaining to the case. It is as illogical as to call in a layman to decide a point of diagnosis when two medical consultants have differed. "If left in doubt," says Dr. Sachs, "the jury generally decides on its own impressions; and, if in time of general excitement, usually decides against the accused whose defence is insanity." They have no other method of deciding.

When, then, shall the plea of insanity be considered valid in extenuation of crime? "The only proper answer to this question," says Dr. Sachs,* "in the light of the present condition of psychiatry, is that no person shall be considered guilty of crime if, at the time the crime was committed, he was suffering from any form of mental disease." New York has practically made her statute accord to this. The statute says: "No act done by a person in a state of insanity can be punished as an offence." Again says Dr. Sachs (*loc. cit.*): "All nations agree in absolving from responsibility a person of unsound mind." In pursuance of the amended law, Judge Gildersleve, in the Appellate Court of New York, charged the jury in the case of *People vs. Mrs. Lubinaker*: "If a reasonable doubt exists as to whether the prisoner is sane or not, she is entitled to the benefit of the doubt, and to acquittal." And this is the law in most States. In Burt's case, Judge Brooks gave the jury the law to that effect.

And here I will ask, can any rational man, acquainted with the facts in Burt's case, say there was not a reasonable doubt of his sanity on the night of July 24, if, indeed, his insanity were not established by a preponderance of medical opinion? In Hamilton's "System of Legal Medicine," Dr. Sachs says: "The medical expert should be called upon to state whether the accused is or was sane or insane; and if insane he should not be held responsible for his acts."

* Hamilton's "System of Legal Medicine."

There is a unanimity of sentiment on this head. Hence, the important point to be established is, the existence or non-existence of insanity in the accused. As any departure from a physiological state, however slight, is pathological, so, given a standard of mental sanity, any deviation from that standard, however little, is an abnormal state, that is, insanity. Hence there are innumerable shades of mental unsoundness, merging the one into the other, ranging from slight alienation to violent, raving mania. No doubt there are hundreds of insane people amongst us, walking the streets and attending to the affairs of life, who are liable to an explosion of insanity at any moment, but who, until such explosion is brought about by developing causes, are never suspected of any unsoundness. Oliver Wendell Holmes, in "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," said that the worst cases of insanity are those outside of the insane asylum. Haslam, in his day one of the first medical experts in England, declared in open court that he had never in the whole course of his life seen a sane person. And there is a growing tendency on the part of the medical profession to regard all crime as manifestations of mental alienation.

It is absolutely essential, therefore, that a midway position should be determined upon, a line drawn, where responsibility ceases. But to make any such line hard and fast is an absolute impossibility; it must needs be, in the very nature of things, more or less flexible; no rule of the kind can apply to all cases, or to all forms of insanity. Common sense, reason, and justice demand that the determination of such a question should be left to the ablest and most experienced students of mental disease.

Observe the inconsistency of the law. It is universally held that sanity is an essential requisite to crime. It is a maxim of law that an insane person cannot commit a crime. Said Judge Hurt, of the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals, by which the Burt case was finally decided, in the case of *Levi King vs. State* :

"What sane mind can comprehend the possibility of a crime being committed by an insane person? If the prisoner is insane, there is no crime. If there be crime, there

is no insanity. Insanity cannot excuse crime, for the fact that, if insane, there is no crime to be excused."

That is the law. It is unqualified. Nothing is said of any degree or kind of insanity; it is sufficient that the party is insane. It is the province of the medical man to prove the existence of insanity, and yet in every State except New York — and that in consequence of recent reform — it is the rule for the court to charge the jury to determine the degree of insanity, the degree of impairment of will power, and the responsibility of even a person proven by unanimous medical opinion to be insane. And to do this they are instructed to apply the antiquated and misleading test of knowing right from wrong. In effect the law says: "True, Mr. Expert, you say the accused is insane; admitted; but hold on; let us see *how* insane he is. Is he so insane that he does not know right from wrong? It is for you, Mr. Juryman, to determine that point." In the name of all that is consistent, how can a jury of often ignorant laymen determine such a question?

In Burt's case it was objected by the State that to leave the determining of the existence of insanity, the degree of will-impairment, and the responsibility of the accused to medical experts would have been tantamount to an acquittal: "insane," *ergo* "irresponsible," *ergo* "not guilty." Be it so. It would be a wiser and more just course than that now pursued.

A solution to this difficult problem would be to have a Medical Court in every State, paid by the State, to whom should be left the adjudication of all points of medicine in its relation to law; just as we have courts of law to settle all legal points. Trial by jury is a relic of barbarous ages, and has degenerated in a large number of cases into a travesty of justice. If accused of crime I would rather trust my fate to the toss-up of a penny than to stand trial by a jury to whom is given the determining of questions so far beyond their powers of comprehension.

3. The courts do not exercise proper discrimination in permitting medical men to testify as experts.

"Much of the disrepute into which hired testimony has

fallen," says Dr. Hamilton,* "is undoubtedly due to a kind of partnership which many men find it difficult to avoid; for the engagement of their services implies a bid for help in advancing a side by the building up of theories for the support of a more or less tenable position. . . . If an expert be careless of his reputation, or weak or corrupt, he will lend himself to the side of the case upon which he has been retained, and in reality he becomes a pleader."

Again, Dr. Hamilton says:

"That there is need for reform is undeniable, and that the courts do not exercise sufficient care in fixing the status of medical witnesses is equally true. The strictures of medical writers, courts, and others are just, so far as the existence of demoralization goes. As the law is administered many persons can be found who are ready to arrogate knowledge and position they do not deserve. The dignified alienist of experience and reputation is confronted by the impostor, whose glib manner and bizarre 'popular-science' learning sometimes impress the susceptible juryman as does the proprietary-medicine advertisement, and whose experience of medicine and its exponents is confined to the quack or cure-all. The law is largely responsible for this."

Says Dr. Sachs on this subject (*loc. cit.*):

"Psychiatry is a very special branch of medicine. It does not constitute a part of the regular medical training in this country; yet, in some of the most important trials of recent years, any medical man has been accepted as an expert, and his opinion has been held to be fully as valuable as that of a man who has devoted years of study and practice to this special branch."

There is something strangely illogical, arbitrary, and absurd in a rule which excludes the teachings of the ablest alienists and the latest conclusions of investigators in the field of mental disease, — books in which are vividly drawn the clinical features of each type of insanity, — and disallows the citation of authorities as to the distinguishing characteristics of the disease; yet allows totally inexperienced medical men, who have never treated or observed a case of insanity, — "sopho-

* "System of Legal Medicine."

more experts," Major Walton calls them, — "to read up on authorities there is no telling how old, and then rattle off their interpretation of the text as their 'opinion.'"

It is difficult for a medical witness not to share in the sympathy for or against a prisoner, and to be uninfluenced by popular prejudice. In a case like Burt's, where the feeling against the unfortunate man was so strong, it required a brave man to run counter to popular clamor. Such a man makes himself unpopular, and unpopular means loss of patronage. One feature of rank injustice done to the prisoner was permitting men to pose as experts who had never even seen a case of insanity, and were by no means expert in ordinary medicine, much less in mental pathology, and giving to their opinion equal weight with that of the alienist by profession and experience. Some of these witnesses, moreover, seemed influenced by the popular prejudice manifested by the audience, for part of their testimony was given in such a way as to appear to be intended to meet popular approval, and to suggest "playing to the gallery."

A review of all the facts connected with this sad affair forces the conviction in my mind that the defendant Burt was at the time of the murder, and had been for years, insane. His case corresponds in every detail to that form of hereditary insanity which is developed gradually until it overpowers reason and leads to crime. That the verdict in his case was not just, and not in accord with the evidence, I firmly believe. O Justice, how many cruel wrongs are perpetrated in thy name!

Had the symptoms and all the acts of the defendant been detailed to the medical witnesses, the better-informed of them could hardly have failed to diagnose a well-marked type of the criminal insane degenerate of Lombroso, a born criminal of the class demonstrated by him to be always morally insane. Almost every feature in the case tallies with the characteristics of the natural criminal insane with homicidal impulses, as described by most recent writers. Its counterpart could have been found in many recent works, had the court permitted them to be cited. Had counsel been allowed to read to the court and jury the clinical picture of the born insane homicide, so forcibly drawn by Ferri, and quoted above, no

man of ordinary intelligence, knowing the facts in the case, would have failed to recognize Burt in the picture, as a striking illustration of that type of the insane.

A parallel case, to which I have referred, is that of Mrs. Lubinaker. Poor, in very bad health, a widow, eating, and feeding her three children only as she was able to earn money to buy food, pregnant and shortly to be confined, she thought she was going to die, and the thought of her children starving prompted her to kill them. No remorse, no concern for the consequences; she realized that she had committed a crime in law, but her only idea was that they would be better off in another world. She intended to commit suicide, and dividing the poison, "rough on rats," in four parts, one for each child and one for herself, she gave it to the children. Two of them died, but the sufferings of the other one diverted her mind from killing herself. She went for a doctor, not to save the child,—she did not think of that,—but to relieve its sufferings; and in that way she was prevented from completing the tragedy. At the trial she was convicted, being pronounced "sane" by the jurors. But in the higher court, expert testimony—Dr. Allen McLane Hamilton and other equally celebrated alienists—pronounced her insane, of the type here being considered, and she was acquitted.

Ferri describes a type of the insane, as above cited, who have killed their children to save them from want, in whom one strong characteristic is lack of emotion, indifference even at the sight of the corpse of the victim. In this connection is recalled the stoic indifference of Burt during the trial, when the bloody hatchet and the garments of his murdered innocents, stained with their blood, shed by himself, were exhibited to the jury. He sat as one dazed, as senseless as a stone. If he were "acting a part," as was said by some of the "experts," it was a masterpiece of acting. His stoicism would have done credit to a savage. By most of the experts he was said to be "simulating," *itself a distinguishing feature of a now well-recognized form of insanity*. The alleged experts were unable to interpret the signs, and attributed his insensibility to a display of "nerve;" and it added to the prejudice of the populace.

So flagrant was the deed, so horrible; so seemingly rational was the conduct of the unfortunate man, both before and after the deed; so methodical seemed all his acts, that few would believe but that there had been a deliberately planned murder, notwithstanding no one could even conjecture a reason or motive for it. Prejudice ran high, the people were strongly arrayed against him, and the plea of insanity was fairly laughed at. The audience were in sympathy with the State witnesses. When damaging testimony was elicited a visible throb of exultation ran through the crowd. Their desire for a conviction and death sentence was so manifest that they were threatened by the court with expulsion.

There was something like cruel irony in the judge's charge to the jury, "If you find that there was malice," etc. Malice towards his devoted young wife, his companion in misery, who with him had breasted the storms of adversity without murmur! Malice towards his innocent prattling babe, whom a short hour before he had lulled to sleep on his distressed bosom! One medical witness was asked: "Do you understand the workings of the human mind?" He replied, "I do." He is doubtless the only human being thus gifted, and he should have been asked to analyze the thoughts that passed through that miserable creature's mind, the emotions that struggled in his breast, that night, as he gazed upon his sleeping innocents and realized that on the morrow grim want would thrust them from beneath the roof that sheltered them, out into the streets — beggars; he, their father, a man of some education and refinement, who had been raised in comfort, if not luxury, ostracized, denied work, without money to buy bread, without friends, without resources of any kind, momentarily apprehensive of arrest and imprisonment. Ah! it would not require the genius of our gifted medical mind-reader to divine that the thought dominant in his mind was, "What will be the fate of my loved ones, my two little daughters, when I am sent to prison, perhaps for a long term?" "Cast into this breathing world scarce half made up," mentally deficient and morally weak, heir to a propensity to evil, hedged in by a combination of most distressing circumstances, enough to have dethroned a reason more firmly

seated, is it strange that the impulse seized him to end, then and there, the unequal struggle? to kill his loved ones to save them from a worse fate—kill them *because* he loved them? Say, O righteous judge; say, ye cheerful and willing “experts” who found him “sane”; say, ye jurors—fathers, sons, brothers—who condemned him to a felon’s death; say, ye human vultures who flocked to the trial as eagles to the carcass; ye women—mothers of sons—who, neglecting home and duty, feasted your morbid curiosity, visibly exulted at every seeming evidence of guilt, and by your every act cried “Crucify him, crucify him!”—similarly circumstanced, what would ye have done?

Our penal system is based upon the ancient law, “an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.” Vengeance appears to be the chief end; retaliation rather than justice. The basis of our system is a police regulation formulated to meet the exigencies of a barbarous nomadic race two thousand years ago, and not adapted to the requirements of a latter-day civilization. The law should have for its object something higher than revenge. “Our system of jurisprudence,” says Dr. Wines, “should not only be humane, it should be intelligent.” The protection of society, the deterring of criminals, and the lessening of crime are the ostensible objects of capital punishment. It is a demonstrated failure. The ends can be secured by means less revolting.

It is argued that, from an economic standpoint as well as for the protection of society and future generations from the evils of the hereditary transmission of criminal propensities, it would be best to exterminate this class of offenders; they are worthless to the world and to themselves; their lives are blighted. Why not hang them? To do so would be most expedient—if we were savages. But humanity revolts at the idea of executing an irresponsible creature; it is inhuman. The escutcheon of this free and enlightened government is already stained indelibly with the blood of too many irrational creatures, imbecile paranoiacs. In lieu of death, it is suggested that emasculation and perpetual confinement at whatever labor they may be capable of performing would be much more rational and humane, and would effectually

cut off hereditary evils, thus affording the protection aimed at by the more brutal method in vogue.

In estimating responsibility it should be borne in mind that the warp in the physical, mental, and moral make-up of a defective antedates even his intra-uterine life. We have heard the saying that, "To reform a drunkard, you must begin with his grandfather." The blight is in the germ that fertilizes the ovum, which becomes, first embryo, then child. Hence we have born into the world everything human, from the acephalous idiot to the godlike Robert E. Lee or Gladstone. Thus are the sins of the father visited "upon the children even unto the third and fourth generation," and all successive generations. Such defectives are no more responsible, morally at least, for their character and actions than they are for being here at all. The true philosophy of the situation is that, as far as possible, such defectives should be *prevented*. A decent regard for race integrity, to say nothing of present protection, demands it; and if our marriage laws were properly amended and enforced, and the services of the surgeon were utilized as above suggested, there would, in a short while, be fewer Guiteaus, Prendergasts, and Burts to puzzle and confound our learned jurists.

I am well aware that any hope of instituting radical changes in a system so universal and so long established is utopian. But were everybody content with existing conditions, there would be no progress in any department of human activity, — in law, medicine, art, science, literature, finance, or commerce. No errors would be corrected or evils eradicated. Hence, when a human life so often depends upon rules of court based upon an antiquated conception of insanity, it is needful to insist that the voice of science shall be heard, and that the great truths revealed by laborious investigation and experimentation — truths vital to the dearest interests of mankind — shall be utilized in medical and criminal jurisprudence. Our system needs to be remodelled, made more comprehensive, and adapted to the changed condition of the knowledge of insanity and to the demands of an advanced civilization.

THE MISUSE OF INJUNCTIONS.

BY JAMES W. STILLMAN.

IT must have been evident to the most casual observer of current events that for some time past there has been a growing dissatisfaction among many of the people of the United States in regard to what they consider to have been the assumption of unwarranted and unconstitutional authority on the part of the various branches of the Federal judiciary. So important has this matter appeared to one of the great political parties of the country, that it has deemed it to be its duty to express its opposition to this action on the part of the United States courts by a formal statement on the subject in its declaration of political principles. The Democratic party, which held its National Convention for the nomination of candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States in the city of Chicago, Ill., beginning on July 7, 1896, incorporated the following plank into the platform adopted by it on that occasion:

"We denounce arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions; and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges, and executioners; and we approve the bill passed at the last session of the United States Senate, and now pending in the House of Representatives relative to contempts in Federal courts, and providing for trials by jury in certain cases of contempt."

The Hon. William J. Bryan of Nebraska, the candidate of this party for the Presidency of the United States, in his letter of acceptance of his nomination for that office, treated separately the relation existing between the Federal and the State governments, and took occasion to denounce in strong language the alleged recent abuse of the power of injunction as

exercised by the United States courts. He also declared that his party was already committed and pledged to the policy of protecting and of defending the dual system of our government as "an indissoluble union of indestructible States." As this question has been made a political issue by the action of this convention, it is proposed in this article to inquire whether or not there are sufficient grounds on which to justify this severe accusation against the proceedings of the Federal judiciary mentioned therein.

Before referring to any of the injunction orders which have been issued by the Federal courts, and which have excited severe opposition among that portion of the population of the country which has been principally affected by them, it will be important to consider the nature and the purpose of injunctions in general. In the first place, it must be clearly understood that this proceeding is always an equitable and never a legal one. In other words, it is a remedy for the prevention of wrongs, and one which can be obtained only from courts of equity and not from courts of law. This being true, it becomes necessary to ascertain the distinction between courts of law and courts of equity, and to understand the difference between the powers and functions of the former and those of the latter. The word "law" is thus defined by Blackstone in his "Commentaries": "A rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a state, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." It is also defined by Bouvier in his "Law Dictionary" as follows: "That which is laid down; that which is established. A rule or a method of action or an order of sequences. A rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a state. The doctrines and procedure of the common law of England and America as distinguished from those of equity." The word "equity" is thus defined by the same author: "A branch of remedial justice by and through which relief is granted in courts of equity." In the sense in which the term is generally used at the present day, it is a system of jurisprudence collateral to, and independent of, law properly so called, the object of which is to render the administration of justice more complete by affording relief where courts of law are incompetent to give it with effect, or by exer-

cising certain branches of jurisdiction independently of them. One of its most important functions is to supply a specific and preventive remedy for common-law wrongs where courts of common law only award damages in civil actions or inflict punishment in criminal ones. One of the principal differences, therefore, between law and equity, is that the former takes cognizance of past acts only, while the latter may, and often does, take cognizance of future ones. This being true, the granting of injunctions which have reference to the future only, and never to the past, is always an equity, and never a law, proceeding.

The word "injunction" is thus defined in "The American and English Encyclopædia of Law," vol. 10, p. 779: "An order of a court or a judge commanding the defendant to do or to refrain from doing a particular thing." As all of the injunctions which are to be considered in the course of this article were preventive and not mandatory ones, it will be unnecessary to treat of the power of the courts of equity to issue the latter; and so these observations will be confined exclusively to the former.

Having thus indicated several of the principal differences between proceedings in law and proceedings in equity, the next statement to be made is, that one of the most common rules of the latter courts is, that they will not take jurisdiction where the plaintiff has a complete and adequate remedy at law. Neither will they issue injunctions against individuals or corporations whose acts which it is desired to prevent are not in violation of either the common or of the statute law, and do not cause substantial and irreparable injury to the plaintiff or to others (*Rogers vs. Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana Railroad Co.* and others, 28 Barb. [N. Y.] 539). Consequently, in order to enable an equity court properly to exercise this remedial power, the petitioner for an injunction must clearly show that the defendant is intending, or has actually begun, to commit an illegal act, that is to say, one which has been expressly forbidden by law. These tribunals have even refused, in some instances, to enjoin the commission of such acts merely because they were illegal, on the ground that, if committed, no serious injury would result

therefrom either to persons or to property (*Head vs. James*, 13 Wis., 641). Were it otherwise, such a court might issue an injunction against acts which have never been prohibited by legislative enactment, or which have never been illegal according to the common law. In this manner all courts of equity, if they were to choose to do so, might usurp the entire function of the legislative department of the government by inventing new crimes and by affixing thereto such penalties as in their opinion might be necessary to render their orders effectual; and in exercising their power to punish for contempt those persons who should disobey their injunctions, the former might fine or imprison the latter without a criminal trial, which action on their part would be in violation of Clause 3, of Section 1, of Article III of the Constitution of the United States, as well as of those of the several States which contain similar provisions in regard to trial by jury in criminal cases. This practice would work a radical change in the nature of the government itself; and the judicial department thereof, instead of being coördinate with the legislative and the executive ones, would become supreme; and the others would also become subordinate thereto, if indeed they would not be rendered entirely inoperative.

Such being the nature of injunction proceedings, courts of equity have generally refused to consider and to award damages in actions of trespass and of other torts; and they have always declined to forbid the commission of crime, except in the cases to which allusion will presently be made. In support of this proposition, Bishop's "New Criminal Procedure," vol. i, section 1415, may be cited, where it is expressly stated that "Equity will not by injunction restrain one from committing crime." As authority for this assertion the author cites the following cases: *Gee vs. Pritchard*, 2 Swanst., 402, and *Babcock vs. New Jersey Stockyard*, 5 C. E. Green, 296. So far has this rule been extended that the St. Louis Court of Appeals in Missouri has affirmed the refusal of the St. Louis Circuit Court to forbid by injunction the keeping of an unlicensed dram-shop, although it was a public nuisance (*State vs. Uhrig*, 14 Mo. App., 413). If further authority on this point be needed, it may be found in the following sen-

tences, which are contained in a standard legal treatise entitled "The Law of Injunctions," by James L. High, and in the cases cited by the author therein in support of his propositions on this subject. In vol. i, section 20, of that work, the law thereon is stated as follows:

"The subject-matter of the jurisdiction of equity being the protection of private property and of civil rights, courts of equity will not interfere for the punishment or the prevention of merely criminal or immoral acts, unconnected with violations of private right. Equity has no jurisdiction to restrain the commission of crimes or to enforce moral obligations and the performance of moral duties; nor will it interfere for the prevention of an illegal act merely because it is illegal. And in the absence of any injury to property rights it will not lend its aid by injunction to restrain the violation of public or penal statutes or the commission of immoral or illegal acts."

These are only a few of the authorities which sustain the proposition for which the writer has contended and still contends, that courts of equity have no common-law jurisdiction to restrain by injunction the commission of crime. It has also been held that even in cases where the wrong sought to be prevented is less than a felony or a misdemeanor, a mere apprehension that the act is about to be committed is not sufficient to authorize the court to issue an injunction against its commission. In the case of *Lutheran Church vs. Maschop*, 10 N. J. Eq. 57, the Court of Chancery of the State of New Jersey has decided that

"The court cannot grant an injunction to allay the fears and the apprehensions of individuals. They must show to the court that the acts against which they ask protection are not only threatened, but will, in all probability, be committed, to their injury."

These authorities clearly establish the proposition that in the absence of an express statutory provision authorizing the issuance by the courts of equity of injunctions against the commission of crime, they have no authority to issue them. The writer has been able to find only four cases reported in the books in which injunctions of this character

have been issued by these tribunals; and these were each in pursuance of statutes expressly enacted for that purpose. They are the following: *Eilenbecker vs. Plymouth Co.*, 134 U. S. 31; *United States vs. Alger*, 62 Federal Reporter, 824; *United States vs. Elliott*, 64 Federal Reporter, 27; and *United States vs. Debs et al.*, 64 Federal Reporter, 724, the last having been heard by the Supreme Court on a motion for a writ of *habeas corpus* by said defendant, and reported as "*In re Debs, Petitioner*," 158 U. S. 564. In the first-mentioned case, the Supreme Court of the United States affirmed the judgment of the Supreme Court of the State of Iowa that the District Court of Plymouth County in that State is empowered to enjoin and to restrain the sale of intoxicating liquors, including ale, wine, and beer, and that disobedience of the order subjects the guilty party to proceedings for contempt and punishment thereunder, the injunction in this case having been specially authorized by an act of the legislature of that State. In the next two cases it was held by the United States Circuit Court for the District of the State of Indiana, and by the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of the State of Missouri, that under the act of Congress approved by the President of the United States on July 2, 1890, declaring illegal and punishing combinations in restraint of commerce among the States and conferring jurisdiction on the United States Circuit Courts to prevent and to restrain violations of the act, these courts have the jurisdiction and the power to issue their injunctions against the wrongdoers. In the last-mentioned case an injunction was issued against the defendant Debs and his associates, by the Circuit Court of the United States for the Northern District of Illinois, on July 17, 1894, to restrain them from the violation of certain provisions of the act of Congress approved by the President of the United States on February 4, 1887, commonly known as the "Interstate Commerce Act," by obstructing the carrying of the United-States mail, and commerce between certain States, by the railroad companies mentioned in the injunction order, they being found guilty of contempt of court by the same judge who issued the injunction against them, and sentenced to imprisonment in the jail of

Cook County, Illinois, for a period of six months. According to the decisions rendered in these several cases, these courts had no equitable jurisdiction to restrain the commission of the acts complained of, except in so far as these acts were in direct contravention of the above-mentioned statutes, and also except in so far as that jurisdiction had been expressly conferred upon them by those statutes.

In the light of these general principles, concerning the validity and the truth of which there can be no question, the reader is the better prepared to consider one of the other injunctions which have been recently issued by the Federal Courts, and to determine whether or not it was authorized either by the Federal statutes or by the common law of the United States. This was the preliminary injunction granted by Mr. Justice Jackson of the United States Court for the District of West Virginia, to the Monongah Coal and Coke Co., against Eugene V. Debs and his associates, the same having been made perpetual by said justice on September 20, 1897. It was designed to prohibit the defendants and all others associated with them "from in any wise interfering with the management, operation, or conducting of said mines by their owners or those operating them, either by menaces, threats, or any character of intimidation used to prevent the employees of said mines from going to or from said mines, or from engaging in the business of mining in said mines.

"And the defendants are further restrained from entering upon the property of the owners of the said Monongah Coal and Coke Company for the purpose of interfering with the employees of said company, either by intimidation or the holding of either public or private assemblages upon said property, or in any wise molesting, interfering with, or intimidating the employees of the said Monongah Coal and Coke Company so as to induce them to abandon their work in said mines.

"And the defendants are further restrained from assembling in the paths, approaches, and roads upon said property leading to and from their homes and residences to the mines, along which the employees of the Monongah Coal and Coke Company are compelled to travel to get to them, or in any way interfering with the employees of said company in pass-

ing to and from their work, either by threats, menaces, or intimidation; and the defendants are further restrained from entering the said mines and interfering with the employees in their mining operations within said mines, or assembling upon said property at or near the entrance of said mines.

"The purpose and object of this restraining order is to prevent all unlawful combinations and conspiracies and to restrain all the defendants engaged in the promotion of such unlawful combinations and conspiracies from entering upon the property of the Monongah Coal and Coke Company described in this order, and from in any wise interfering with the employees of said company in their mining operations, either within the mines or in passing from their homes to the mines and upon their return to their homes, and from unlawfully inciting persons who are engaged in working the mines from ceasing to work in the mines, or in any wise advising such acts as may result in violations and destruction of the rights of the plaintiff in this property."

To render this order valid and binding upon the above-mentioned defendants, it must be shown that the acts complained of were in violation of Federal and not of State law, as a United States court has jurisdiction to issue its injunctions to prevent the disobedience of the former only and not of the latter. If the acts of these parties were contrary to either the statute or the common law of the State wherein they were committed or were about to be committed, the plaintiffs had an adequate remedy in the State courts. So far as the writer is aware, there was no pretence on the part of the plaintiffs or of anyone else that the conduct of Mr. Debs and of his associates in this particular case had been in any way prohibited by the Federal law. This being true, if any law had been or was about to be violated by these strikers, it must have been a State and not a Federal one; and as Congress had never passed an act authorizing the District Courts to issue injunctions in cases of this character, this court had no jurisdiction to do so in this instance; and if such a law had been enacted by Congress it would have been of doubtful constitutionality, as each State in the Union is presumed to possess ample power to enforce its

own laws without aid from the Federal government except in cases of invasion or of domestic violence.

If any injury to the property of the Monongah Coal and Coke Company had been done or was threatened to be done, the State law was amply sufficient to restrain or to punish the offenders. It was not contended that interstate commerce had been in any way impeded, that the carrying of the United-States mail had been in the least degree obstructed, that the property of the United States had been, or was, in danger of being injured, or that any act of rebellion against either the Federal or the State government had been, or was about to be, committed. The Governor of West Virginia had not certified to the President of the United States that there was an insurrection or domestic violence within the State which it had not sufficient power to suppress, as he was authorized to do by Section 4 of Article IV of the Constitution of the United States, simply because no such exigency as is therein provided for had arisen. There was no claim by the plaintiffs or by anyone else that any offence against the Federal government had been, or was to be, committed; nor did the fact that some of the stockholders in this company were then citizens of States other than the State of West Virginia render this controversy a Federal one so long as some of them were citizens of that State. There being no Federal question involved in this proceeding, therefore, there was no justification for the intervention of the Federal court to restrain the actions of the strikers in this instance; nor should a remedy for the alleged wrongs committed or to be committed by them have been afforded to the plaintiffs by that court so long as they could have obtained it in one of the State courts.

But conceding for the purpose of this argument that the Federal District Court of West Virginia had ample jurisdiction to issue the injunction under consideration, the next question to be considered is, whether or not its discretion was properly exercised. It will be perceived that it had reference principally to alleged acts of trespass committed by the defendants upon the property of the plaintiff. It was long a disputed question whether or not injunctions might be granted to

prevent trespasses to property; but that question is no longer an open one; for it has been settled by numerous decisions that such jurisdiction exists only where there is insolvency on the part of the trespasser, or where the injury, if committed, would be irremediable, and that both of these facts must be clearly proven before the injunction can be properly issued (*Musselman vs. Marquis*, 1 Bush. 463; *Hopkins vs. Caddick*, 18 L. T. 236). In this case, neither of these alleged facts was established; nor, so far as the writer is aware, was any attempt made to do so. Besides that, it is not every possible injury resulting to persons or to property which a court of equity has the power to prevent in this manner. In order to justify such an order as this was, it must be proven that the injury will be immediate and direct, and not remote or consequential (*Morgan vs. Binghamton*, 102 N. Y. 500).

Both persons and property may be indirectly injured in many ways without illegal or criminal conduct on the part of the persons who cause the injury. If, for instance, a new manufacturing establishment were to be located near an old one, the former might seriously interfere with the business of the latter by drawing away from it a large number of its patrons, particularly if it were to produce superior articles of the same kind and to sell them at a lower price than its rival had been receiving for its products. In such a case there can be no doubt that the last-mentioned factory would be seriously injured by the first-mentioned one. In like manner, the invention, the manufacture, the sale, and the use of labor-saving machinery may, and probably does, injure many wage-earners by throwing them out of employment. Many similar illustrations of this truth might be given were it necessary to do so; but these are sufficient for the purpose for which they are used. Will anyone seriously contend that in such cases as these the injured parties would have sufficient reason to justify them in applying to courts of equity for orders of injunction to restrain all persons engaged in each of these different industries from conducting a perfectly legal and laudable business on the ground that their own was suffering injury on account of it? And is it reasonable to believe that

any one of these courts would issue an injunction under these or similar circumstances? Manifestly not.

In the present instance the strike of the coal-miners might have worked, and probably indirectly and remotely did work, an injury to the property of their employers; but that fact, if it was a fact, did not in any way impair their right to resort to a strike and to make it as general and as effectual as possible; and the resulting injury to the company did not justify the court in restraining them from so doing, because it was too indirect and too remote to warrant that proceeding, particularly as there was no evidence tending to prove that there was any intention or desire on their part to injure the property of their employers, as the object of the strike was not to do that, but merely to obtain an increase of their wages.

In support of the writer's position on this subject he refers to the judgment of Mr. Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court of the United States, sitting in the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Seventh Circuit, delivered in the case of *Arthur vs. Oakes*, and reported in 63 Federal Reporter, page 311, which is as follows:

"In the absence of evidence it cannot be held, as a matter of law, that a combination among employees, having for its object their orderly withdrawal in large numbers, or in a body, from the service of their employers, on account simply of a reduction of their wages, is not a 'strike' within the meaning of that word as commonly used. Such a withdrawal, although amounting to a strike, is not illegal or criminal."

While an injunction against an attempt to trespass upon an employer's property or to *compel* his men to leave their work is manifestly in defence of rights, this order restraining men from public speaking on the issues of the coal strike or from endeavoring to enlist sympathy and support for the miners is quite another matter, and is utterly wrong and indefensible. Here was an injunction in restraint of the constitutional rights of free assembly and of free speech. The injustice of such injunctions will tend to increase popular contempt for judicial proceedings and to confirm the belief which is becoming quite general, that judges are merely agents of wealth in its oppression of poverty. It would not require many judicial orders

like that under consideration to create a public feeling which would destroy all confidence in the justice and the fairness of our courts of law.

It is a fundamental principle of the common law that every person accused of a crime is presumed to be innocent until his guilt is proven beyond a reasonable doubt. It must also be held by all criminal tribunals that no man proposes to commit an offence in the nature of a crime against the majesty of the law; nor can a man be justly punished for an act which he has not yet committed, and may never commit. Therefore, so far as criminal conduct is concerned, it is time to restrain a citizen after he has violated the law, and not before he has done so. The decision in this case was neither more nor less than an unwarranted restraint of the undoubted liberty of every citizen to give public utterance to his convictions upon all subjects which he chooses to discuss; and to punish him before he has committed any criminal act is not only a travesty of law, but is also against the provision of the Constitution of the United States, which declares that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law" (Article V of the Amendments).

The only other point to be considered in regard to this extraordinary injunction is this: If the court had the jurisdiction to issue it, in so far as it was designed to prevent the commission of merely illegal and injurious, as distinguished from purely criminal, acts, it was strictly just and proper, and should have been rigidly enforced; but in so far as it restrained or prevented these men from holding public meetings for the purpose of delivering or listening to addresses on the matters in controversy between the mine-owners and themselves, thus depriving them of their undoubted rights of free speech and of public assembly, it was, as has been already asserted, utterly wrong and indefensible; and for this reason the writer does not hesitate to denounce it as an unwarranted and inexcusable exercise of authority. For an assemblage of this character alone, even if held on the property of the plaintiff, although a trespass upon it, cannot be an irreparable injury to it, and therefore is not properly subject to prohibition by an injunction. As it is not and cannot be a crime for any man to

refuse to continue in any employment or occupation which is not agreeable to him, so it cannot be a crime for others to do likewise; and if striking is not illegal or criminal conduct, it must be legal and proper; and whatever any man has a perfect legal and moral right to do himself, he has the same right to recommend or to induce others to do also.

Many more observations on this important subject might be made were it necessary to do so; but enough has been written to show that in at least one instance the power of a Federal court to issue injunctions in labor disputes was and is entirely unauthorized and unjust. This being true, there can be no doubt in the mind of any intelligent and unprejudiced person that there are sufficient grounds to justify the declaration made in the platform of the Democratic party, and quoted at the end of the first paragraph of this article; and in the opinion of the writer, it behooves every true patriot, every friend of the laboring man, and every lover of liberty and of justice, to enter his decided protest against the arbitrary and unconstitutional action of the Federal courts in controversies of this character, to the end that our government may be one of law and not one of men; for such a government as this would be is neither more nor less than the quintessence of absolute despotism, which ought not to exist anywhere in the civilized world.

THE CHURCHES AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

I. MANHOOD IN THE PULPIT.

BY REV. GEORGE W. BUCKLEY.

EACH age is confronted with some issue of justice that becomes the paramount issue of that age. At first ignored with a laugh or a sneer, then entertained as possibly worth considering, it finally commands the earnest attention out of which comes some satisfactory, or approximation to satisfactory, settlement, by means peaceful or otherwise. The social force called the church is ever a decisive factor in determining the settlement. In these days of much cheap invective against it, might it not be well to remember how many great reformers and prophets of righteousness, from Isaiah to Theodore Parker, have sprung from its loins? In each new phase of progress toward liberty and social justice some preachers have played the divine role of "scourge and minister" for the extension of human rights, before these rights gained any general recognition on the part of either the church or the state. In adjusting these latter agencies to sociological problems it is their fatality that they must move slowly, since they can take no step without the concurrence of divers wills more or less at variance. Until they have in sight such concurrence, most of the politicians and the clergy take no positive stand for any cause, however righteous it may be. The heroisms and sacrifices of the leaders of the once "forlorn hope" of some cause at last triumphantly established—these draw from them the most impassioned eulogies. If only they had lived in the anti-slavery days would not they have thundered against the "crime of the age" with Sinai's thunder, even as Garrison and Phillips? So eager to play the hero where no danger is! In retrospect how heroic the part we act in freedom's hard-won conflict! With what beautiful reverence we bow ourselves before the picture or statue of those our fathers slew!

Should we have been prophetic, heroic, manly in the genera-

tion of Garrison, of Jefferson, of Christ, in any past generation on this whirling planet? That depends somewhat on whether we are prophetic, heroic, manly now. We have our "irrepressible conflict" between freedom and slavery, between justice and injustice. The disappearance of one sort of bondage, the chattel-bondage of colored men, does not guarantee us against the coming of another sort of bondage, the industrial bondage of white men. The fall of a landed aristocracy in the South does not insure us against the rise of a commercial aristocracy in the North. So true it is that often when the sons of light face forward to vanquish one iniquity, the sons of darkness slip in behind to build another.

Quite other slaveries than theological and ecclesiastical now challenge the attention of the minister who would be on the side of the future. The divine seal of the hero and prophet no longer lies in preaching rational religion. It has grown too common. The seal lies much more in speaking well-considered, manly words upon sociological questions, which have as vital a relation to the humanities as ever negro slavery had. Touching temperance and civic virtue, selfish luxury and pleasure-mongering, justice and charity, the relation between the creation of wealth and the equitable distribution thereof, between the rights of property and the greater rights of man, the rights of the individual and the greater rights of society—touching these does the attitude of the minister, or his want of all attitude, enroll him either as a fossil or a coward? Does he speak with muzzled lips, through fear of one or more wealthy pewholders receiving all utterances on the new problems through a dense medium of prejudice and conservatism of vested interest? For there are rich patrons enough acting the part of mortgagee toward both the press and the pulpit; and editors and preachers enough to acknowledge their mortgage. The widespread passion for gain and physical gratification, the serfdom to pies and cakes, soft beds and easy-chairs, lie at the root of a vast deal of trimming and truckling by the teaching agencies of the land.

It is plain to see that the logic of events is drifting the church into a broader human province of work. That logic will compel the clergy, standing at the summit of the teachers

in Israel, to deal more directly and frankly with the practical social problems which vex the men and women of this generation—to so deal, or else to witness the sceptre of their proper leadership depart, and the toiling masses turn away from the church, even to a greater extent than now. There is still in the orthodox churches too much of the theological homily, and in the so-called liberal churches equally too much dilettanteism and beautiful indefinitism—æsthetic sermonizing which convicts no sinner, rather breeds self-complacent people, a very poor species to be bred by any teachers of men.

In the face of so much in our civilization which is cruel and disheartening one may be pardoned for growing weary of a certain dulcet strain of optimism about our wonderful progress in liberty and well-being. Behold our railroads, manufactories, inventions, national wealth, etc., etc.! Down with the Jeremiahs and Carlyles! Down with the prophets of evil who make life so unæsthetic and uncomfortable! Ah, be it remembered, there is a pessimism divine and an optimism devilish. And of the latter quite too much is in the pulpit and elsewhere, graceless for its want both of sympathy and manhood. Jesus was not at all times content with uttering sweet beatitudes that few, indeed, would dispute. "Woe unto you!" formed some part of his preaching. Woe unto you who "lade men with burdens grievous to be borne"! Love-angers and "heroic angers" in season may be as righteous as "sweet reasonableness" and sweet patience.

Let it not be inferred, however, from what is said, that the writer's conception of duty and manhood on the part of the minister requires him to strike the attitude of a campaign beligerent or of an oracle of wisdom on all the problems of the day. While no one should touch life at more points, he has to reckon with the great fact that this is preëminently an age of specialists and experts. The wisest are not wise on all subjects. It is truly lamentable sometimes to witness the teacher of the pulpit teaching in reference to matters the teacher knows nothing about. Concerning sociological problems, therefore, if he is not willing to give to a reasonable degree conscientious study and investigation of the same, I suppose the more he confines himself to generalities, "glittering" or

otherwise, the better. But, so far especially as relates to the younger clergy of the land, are not precisely such study and investigation incumbent on those who would faithfully discharge their obligations to the new era now upon us? Knowledge both of physical and social science is possibly as serviceable to human needs as the knowledge of Hebrew roots, the follies of Jewish kings, or, perchance, even the "higher criticism."

Manhood, then, in the pulpit demands more thorough study of sociological problems, and speech concerning the same which truckles not to individuals or classes. In the spirit of the old Mosaic commandment, "Thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honor the person of the mighty; but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbor." Interpreted specifically for present use, the pulpit should scorn, on the one hand, to flatter the ignorance and prejudices of the multitude, and, on the other hand, to gloze with honeyed speech, or to hide in timid prudential silence, the selfishness of the rich and powerful. Let the preacher speak the word that comes to him in honest wedlock with truth, speak it with love in his heart, yea, with common sense and tact withal, but speak, fully persuaded that he does not confound these with skulking prudence. When doubtful, if he say what he is afraid to say, seldom shall the future prove him wrong. He shall not bring the message of a church-treasurer; he shall not play the part of dancing puppet to a constituency, or any fraction of a constituency; but be the leader and prophet of his people, to spread righteousness in the land, and upbuild the spiritual selfhood of man.

II. THE RELIGIOUS PRESS AND SOCIAL REFORMS.

BY REV. ROBERT E. BISBEE.

THE American people are in trouble. It matters not that stocks boom and wheat advances. These things settle nothing permanently. The profit system, usury, and monopoly still have their deadly clutch on the nation. Uncertainty, insecurity, haunt everything. The farmer is permanently sure of neither crop nor price. One year he can-

not sell his produce, the next year he has none to sell. He fixes the price of nothing, but asks with the abject humility of the slave, "What will you give for the results of my labor, and what will you take for yours?" The wage-worker is equally helpless. The merchant is oppressed by competition and poor debts. The manufacturer cannot be sure of the demand. There are too many lawyers, doctors, ministers; and too much injustice, disease, and sin. There is too much education, and too much ignorance. Money lies idle, and business fails for the lack of it. Gross extravagance and extreme want occupy the same street. We cannot pay our national debt, and yet consume in intoxicating liquors more than its value each year. Hard times send the children from the school to the factory, and compel ambitious youth to turn heartbroken from college to a life of hopeless drudgery. Strikes, evictions, starvation, suicide, murder, why repeat the ghastly tale? Worse and more frequent than the starvation of body is the starvation of soul. The unceasing round of toil, the want of leisure and security, dwarf mind and heart.

In the preface to his "Law of Civilization and Decay" Brooks Adams says:

"Nothing is commoner than to find families who have been famous in one century sinking into obscurity in the next, not because the children have degenerated, but because a certain field of activity which afforded the ancestor full scope, has been closed against his offspring."

This, plainly stated, means that the noblest and most intellectual characters may be crushed out by the relentless forces of civilization. This process is now going on in the United States. Forces are at work annihilating the best, and leaving the land to shysters and to serfs. Unless these forces are met by greater and nobler ones, our civilization is doomed. If history has burned any lesson into the soul, it is that we should leave our groping in the dark, cease blind submission to apparent fate, and begin to shape our own destiny by entering upon a new and higher life.

It is for the purpose of thus leading us that we have a church and a church press. Religious papers are turned out by the million. Every denomination has them, and many are

conducted as private enterprises. They publish much that is good. I make no indiscriminate assault upon them, but in certain important respects they are failures.

The religious press reaches and influences a majority of the people of this country. Our Sunday schools, our young people's societies, our pulpits, and our homes are largely under its sway. It claims to bring to us the teachings of Jesus, to inspire a love for truth, and to show how man may regain paradise; and yet the average American seeking to better his earthly condition would as soon search Alaska for orange groves, or hades for an ice crop, as turn to the religious press for help in a crisis like the present. The religious press has failed to get a grip upon that part of humanity which is most earnestly working and praying for more Christ-like social conditions.

The reasons are obvious. The real needs of the people are too largely ignored. The columns are crowded with church "news." Somebody has preached a great sermon, is accorded a delightful reception, is taking a vacation. Somebody is somebody's father-in-law. Some perennial globe-trotter has started for Europe, and will send us back inane descriptions of foreign scenery, will tell us how European potentates sneeze, and will astonish us with the latest vagary of the university pedant. All this finds room, a hundred columns of it for every one which tells our people how to escape the dominion of the plutocrat, how to save our national character and advance our civilization.

There is no lack of information about how to reach heaven when we are dead. The woes of the heathen are painted in darkest hues, and powerful appeals are made for their relief; but the fact that the same forces which have brought the woes upon the heathen are at work among us is quietly passed by. Mediæval arguments on the second advent and the millennium, discussions of such weighty matters as whether or not Paul preached on Mars Hill, vociferous assertions that man did not descend from the monkey, as if this proposition were in dispute, debates on minute points of ecclesiastical law and constitutions, are worthy of prolonged consideration; but when it comes to the very stake of Christian influence, the

application of Christian ethics to the state, this is politics, and the church must not meddle. An attenuated and perverted gospel is a sufficient remedy for all social ills. How to add converts and save and extend the church is matter of ceaseless solicitude; how to save civilization from a fate worse than a mediæval hell is of less concern. The tranquillity of institutions must be preserved at all costs, even at the expense of truth and the right to think. As I write, the church papers are thundering at the Rev. B. Fay Mills. It is evidently very important to save the church from Mills, even if humanity goes to the devil while this is doing. The disturber of the existing order is a walking pestilence, and must be suppressed. Because of these things the reformer has come to feel that organized Christianity is not his ally, but is at best neutral, and at times his bitterest foe. I am glad, however, to note that one leading church review has thus far in the current year (five bimonthly issues) published one helpful article on "Christian Socialism," the closing sentence of which I earnestly commend for consideration: "The least that an earnest Christian can do is to familiarize himself with the organization and ideals of social Christianity." Will religious editors note this, and remember that in this country are vast areas where not a single ray of economic light penetrates? In heaven's name, give the people a chance!

When the religious editor does speak on social or political questions he too often follows a partisan press. He is too busy or too indolent to search out truth for himself. The metropolitan dailies are his political Bible. Famine reigns and wheat rises. This is cause for rejoicing, a "satisfactory" sign of returning plenty. Strange condition, when we pray for the misfortunes of others that we may sell our breadstuffs and live! One year ago we were told that a rise in prices without a corresponding rise in wages would be a "calamity." Now that it has come the same partisan press tells us it means "prosperity." We are taxing ourselves rich. We destroy that we may find work and not starve. We shall soon shut the daylight out of our houses in order to stimulate the oil trade, and put a screen over the sun to raise the price of coal and settle the miners' strike. Follies as great as these the religious

press endorses, sometimes by silence, sometimes by open assent.

In the campaign of 1896 the church papers followed the partisan press in all its false assumptions. The simplest principles of finance were ignored. Not even the Gresham law or the law of supply and demand could gain a correct statement and application. Plain historic facts were suppressed or perverted. It was assumed that a certain dollar would be worth only fifty cents, that certain men were "repudiators," "anarchists," and at the same time by some strange trick of words "socialists." In the sacred name of "national honor" a thousand errors were propagated which should have made a school-boy blush, and the people were advised to tax themselves and posterity in the interest of a class. Thus dishonor was made honorable, and robbery was gilded with the name of justice.

To-day the same stupidity obtains. Socialism is misrepresented, maligned, held in abhorrence. It is stated to be what it is not, and then demolished in true Quixotic style. In the holy name of Jesus men are warned not to coöperate, not to love one another in business, but that their true development demands that they should bite and devour one another. Perhaps no editor means to say this, but he does say it through his inability to grasp the principles involved.

In their zeal for what they deem a righteous cause, or possibly in their obstinacy or imagined independence, some editors of the church press are guilty of what seems a wilful perversion of facts. They use a subterfuge and suppression which amount to falsehood. I will specify.

Mr. Edward Bellamy, then a modest, unassuming citizen of Chicopee, Mass., wrote a book called "Equality." The book was the result of many years of thought, study, and observation. It is a deep, thorough work on socialism. It is the latest and best expression of all for which the socialist stands. Its fundamental principles are coöperation, freedom, and economic equality. The book is perfectly pure, and written in a most Christ-like spirit. There is no railing accusation against any class, no hint of any impure relations. It breathes the sublimest optimism, the most genuine good-will. It abounds in masterpieces of argument and illustration, and

is on the whole one of the most uplifting books ever issued from the press. It doubtless has its faults, but they are not prominent; its objectionable fancies, but they are not obtrusive. And yet the editor of one of our religious papers has discovered in this book little but evil. He has found the author pessimistic, a suggestion of something "loose" in the relation between men and women, a danger of arraying class against class, a general violation of true human relations.

Now, all this may be ascribed to the editor's ignorance, his inability to analyze correctly, to discern between right and wrong; but something follows which cannot be thus ascribed. In order to convey the impression that the book is generally condemned by the press, the editor quotes from other journals condemnatory opinions exclusively. He omits all commendatory criticisms, of which there are legion, and, with the evident purpose of depriving the author of his due meed of praise and the book of its due influence, deliberately quotes only those opinions which condemn; and when a criticism is found which partly commends and partly condemns, he garbles it, and publishes only that part which condemns. The evil one could go little farther in an attempt to deceive. This same editor has no word of rebuke for a thousand sins in high places. Reed, McKinley, Hanna, Platt, with all their autocracy, double-dealing, misrepresentations, economic falsehoods, villanous appointments to office, and corruption of voters, go unscathed; but he follows the labor leader Debs with a venom born of perfect hate; and having exhausted his own vocabulary of denunciation, he gleans invective from the partisan press, and quotes it week after week with a malice that ought to make the fiends laugh. One would think such an editor to be owned body and soul by plutocracy were it not impossible to conceive of anyone foolish enough to buy him. It is useless for him to claim that his paper contains much of good. A loaf of bread with arsenic in it contains much of good, but we do not for that reason feed it to our children. His paper's influence with laboring men who think is forever lost.

It is but fair to say, however, that this editor is in some degree an exception. There is no one else within the realm

of my investigations who has not something more of sense and dignity, but even those who are evidently inclined to treat reforms and reformers with consideration, too often fall into a habit of carping criticism. To every proposition for the benefit of mankind they find objections. They seem to delight in pointing out the mistakes, shortcomings, inconsistencies, and disagreements of labor's and other reform leaders. They employ the very methods which they condemn when used against the pulpit and themselves. At best they "damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer."

There are noble exceptions. There are those who understand that the religious press has no right to exist except in the struggle for freedom, truth, and right. Such papers should, and will, be held in lasting honor. There are exceptional articles in all papers. There is a movement within the church which I believe will eventually elevate, refine, and purify both itself and its press. May the day hasten.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss books. An agent of one of the largest denominational publishing houses of the world is quoted as saying that he wished the concern with which he is connected might publish a few really valuable works. This implied confession is all that needs be said.

A majority of the songs issued by the religious press are rubbish. They are as false to theology and the poetic art as to manhood. They have not one redeeming feature, and still they are poured out and inflicted upon a long-suffering world by the thousand. There is a crying need for at least one hymn which expresses the present hope of humanity.

The reason for the present general attitude of the religious press toward social reforms, it is hard to decide. I count it an undue conservatism, the binding and blinding influence of tradition, a dislike of change, a false judgment of the needs and interests of men, a misapprehension of the real character of Jesus and his gospel, a fear to trust people with the truth, indolence, indifference, inability; possibly in some cases a fear of the power of wealth or of a loss of position.

I am glad of a conservative press. Every movement professing to be for the benefit of the world should be able to give a convincing account of itself. Let us have conservatism,

but let it not go to the point of crucifying the world's best men.

There is no objection to a religious editor freely expressing his opinion, whatever it may be. No one can reasonably ask him to descend to partisan strife or enter into all the conflicts of human society. There is no demand that he should give the greater part of his space to any propaganda, however important. He is, however, expected to investigate thoroughly for himself, and to state fairly, all questions he touches upon, to be earnest in the pursuit of truth, to be careful of the reputation of his fellow men, to recognize the awful perils of civilization, and to warn against them with the pen of the true prophet. He is not merely to criticise and condemn proposed methods of reform, to find flaws, mistakes, and inconsistencies, but is to help discover the best way. In general, on a lofty and noble plane he is to lead humanity to victory. A timid, timeserving, vacillating religious press neither God nor humanity has any use for. Anything that is afraid of the truth, let it perish from the earth.

III. THE CHURCH AND THE MASSES.

BY T. S. LONERGAN.

IT is now a well-established fact that non-churchgoing is steadily on the increase. It does seem from recent investigations that the great majority of farmers and workingmen are alienated from the churches. Representatives of the church and representatives of labor agree that for various reasons the churches have lost their hold on the masses of the American people.

A few years ago Mr. Moody said: "The gulf between the church and the masses is growing deeper, wider, and darker every hour." That is a sad commentary on a Christian country, and is unquestionably true. Men who have given close study to this subject admit that less than one-half the people of this country profess to be churchgoers, and half of those who profess to be churchgoers have not darkened the doors of a church for years. It is estimated that only thirty-three per cent of the population attend church of any kind. It is com-

monly said that if the churches and ministers would exhibit a broader spirit of humanity and keep in close touch with the people, there would be no alienation from the churches.

The masses still believe in Christianity, but not in churchianity. Some of the old theology may be out of date, but the old religion is ever new. Anything born of divinity is immortal.

The working classes are indifferent if not decidedly hostile to our fashionable churches, and our fashionable churches in turn seem indifferent to the temporal and spiritual welfare of those classes. Yet there are many noble exceptions.

Two years ago four Brooklyn clergymen met, and, discussing informally church matters, one of them, a rector of one of the largest Episcopal churches in that city, said: "Gentlemen, I should like to know if my church is exceptional. We have not a single workingman in our membership." The pastor of a Dutch Reformed church said: "That is true of mine." The pastor of a large Congregational church said: "We have one carpenter in our church, but not a single serving man or woman." The pastor of the Presbyterian church said: "We have some master workmen who employ labor, but of what would be called a workingman we have not one in our church or congregation." Those statements represent the same denominations in every large city in these United States to-day. "How to reach the masses" is now one of the great problems of our time. It is a problem that the statesman, the churchman, and the philanthropist must grapple with. Class churches can never solve the problem of our civilization.

Recently at a certain prayer-meeting a prominent member said: "I want your prayers for a man who has been a slave to drink. Pray for him; he is a gentleman. He is no bum. He is worth \$200,000, and is worth saving." We see that money is a power, even in the church, God's own temple.

A church committee in Massachusetts a few years since sent out circulars to over 200 labor leaders throughout the State to find out if possible the attitude of workingmen towards the churches. Only a small number replied, and those who did reply expressed the opinion that the workingmen were almost entirely alienated from the churches. Mark

you, that was in the land of the Puritan. Out of fifteen counties in the State of Maine containing 133,445 families, 67,842 reported themselves as not attending churches of any kind, Protestant or Catholic. Puritan blue-laws do not thrive in New England any more than in New York.

Prof. R. T. Ely writes: "The Secretary of the Journeymen Bakers' National Union sent out appeals to the clergy of New York and Brooklyn to preach against Sunday labor, and help them to abolish it. Out of 500 circulars sent only half-a-dozen came back." Such discourtesy tends to prejudice the minds of workingmen against churches and pastors.

The writer has heard churches and pastors hissed in Cooper Union and elsewhere. "The churches," said a labor orator on one occasion, "are a mammonized institution, in league with capital and controlled by plutocrats. Cooper Institute did more good in a week than all the churches in a year, and the *New York World* did more good in a single issue than the Christian ministers, the parasites of society, could do in an age." The meeting cheered those sentiments to the echo. The majority of laboring men believe that the churches are engaged against them in their struggle to ameliorate their social condition. They say that the pillars of the church are the hardest taskmasters.

The ministers charge the Sunday newspapers with keeping men away from church. If a man has a desire to go to church, the newspapers will not keep him away. The Sunday newspaper is not an enemy to the church. The pulpit frequently denounces the press. There ought to be no conflict between them. They should go hand-in-hand in instructing and uplifting humanity. The pulpit preaches to thousands, while the press preaches to millions. As an institution the press is human and of course has faults, yet it possesses a good deal of the milk of human kindness. The press can never usurp the magic power of the spoken Word. Eloquence in or out of the pulpit is divine. It is God's greatest gift to man.

Greater New York has a population to-day of almost 3,200,000, and only 250,000 go to church on Sundays. The farmers and workingmen do not complete the list of non-

churchgoers. Unfortunately many of our educated young men pose as agnostics and follow the teachings of Robert G. Ingersoll. We all admire the brilliancy and eloquence of Col. Ingersoll, although he is neither a great scholar nor a profound thinker. His slings and arrows at the Christian religion have made him very unpopular among the public at large. In his newest lecture there is nothing new. His argument is ridicule. His ammunition is a rehash from the arsenals of Voltaire, Paine, and Bradlaugh. True, people flock to hear him simply because he is eloquent and nothing more. If the Christian religion consoles the troubled mind and helps millions the world over to bear the trials and troubles of "a weary life," it is a blessing to human society. In what does the common weal consist? It consists in the interest of the whole community. Civil society and religious society are two distinct empires. Christ himself separates the two jurisdictions. Yet they are closely connected: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

Religion and morality are the safeguards of our free institutions. Irreligion and anarchy are twin sisters. The masses and classes hating each other is a menace to free institutions. We may discard some of the old theology, but the old religion the American people will never discard. The workingmen feel that the churches do not sympathize with them in their struggles.

The Founder of Christianity was a workingman. He preached the gospel to the people from a heart overflowing with human sympathy. There is no true love without sacrifice. Christ died for the redemption of mankind. The masses of the Christian world are religious to the core and as devoted as ever to the true teachings of this divine Mechanic.

Now, what are the principal causes why we have so many non-churchgoers in our large cities? The following causes are respectfully submitted to a candid public: 1. Superfluous sects; 2. Extreme individualism; 3. Class distinctions; 4. The rented pew system; 5. The War of Creeds; and 6. Dry and artificial sermons. The last, perhaps, is one of the chief causes. Preaching has sunk into sermonizing. True eloquence in the

American pulpit seems to be a lost art. We have now no Summerfields, no Simpsons, no Beechers. True, we have yet a Ryan, the Lacordaire of America, whose eloquence and learning are recognized on all sides. A great orator is the product of divine hands. God alone can make him. Of course we have good and learned preachers all over the country, but they are wedded to their manuscripts. To use the language of a great preacher and scholar:

"Pulpit discourses have insensibly dwindled from speaking to reading; a practice which of itself is sufficient to stifle every germ of eloquence. It is only by the fresh feelings of the heart that mankind can be very powerfully affected. What can be more ridiculous than an orator delivering stale indignation and fervor a week old; turning over whole pages of violent passion written out in goodly text."

It is really tiresome to sit for an hour and listen to some preachers read off a theological essay. An eminent English divine once said to Garrick: "How is it that you actors make such an impression on people and talk only fiction, while we fail although talking divine truth?" "The reason is," replied the great actor, "we actors talk fiction as if it were truth, while you preachers talk truth as if it were fiction." That is the explanation in a nutshell.

The rented pew system is a libel on our boasted equality. There are no rented pews in St. Paul's, London, or in St. Peter's in Rome, and never have been. Almost any Sunday you can see six or seven thousand workingmen under the dome of St. Peter's. Prince and peasant, rich and poor, high and low mingle within the walls of that famous temple. That magnificent edifice is free to all without distinction of class, race, or color. There at least we can see thorough equality.

The wealthy support our fashionable churches, and they have a perfect right to exclude or at least to show that they do not want the common crowd. Some of these churches pay their pastors \$10,000 a year. Some more, others less. Then it is said that some churches are too exclusive. But could we expect a Vanderbilt or an Astor to sit beside a common laborer from the fourth ward? Could we expect a fair and cultured society lady to sit beside a factory girl from the Bowery? So,

you see, there are two sides to this question. Yet the religion of Christ was intended for rich and poor alike. Within the temple of God there ought to be entire equality. God must be recognized as a living power embracing all human relations. Religion has a material as well as a spiritual side, which is of vital importance to the state. God speaks in every age and nation. Let the churches keep in close contact with the people. Let the pastors of every denomination preach in season and out of season the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. There is no room for class churches in free America. Our fashionable churches to-day are social clubs pure and simple. Organized charity in the churches is a beautiful thing, but the working people have no faith in that kind of charity.

Below Fourteenth Street, New York, we have very few churches, but any number of saloons. In the borough of Manhattan there are 555 organized churches and over 7,000 licensed saloons. The liquor question, the labor question, and other social questions come within the domain of morals. Theological doctrines can be applied to these questions from every pulpit in the land. Every church is doing good, but separated and divided by intolerance the good results cannot be as effective as they might be. It is not necessary to turn a pulpit into a political rostrum. The pulpit is yet a power. It can aid the working classes to better their social condition. The rich are eminently capable of taking care of themselves.

When the ministers of every creed and denomination open wide the doors of their churches, preach fearlessly the gospel of Christ, and apply it to the social problems of our day, espouse the cause of labor, extend their sympathies to the poor and the unfortunate, do away with carping criticisms, and teach the classes the duties they owe to society and religion alike, then the working people will return to the churches of their fathers, worshipping at the sacred shrine of holy religion, purer patriots and better citizens.

THE PROPOSED FEDERATION OF THE ANGLO-SAXON NATIONS.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

NO question which has arisen since the close of the Civil War is fraught with such momentous and far-reaching consequences as the proposal looking toward the federation of the Anglo-Saxon world through an understanding, more or less definite, by which the civilization of the English-speaking people will be a controlling factor in shaping the destinies of the future. It is safe to say that no other proposition flashed upon modern civilization has so profoundly stirred the world as this new proposal which has been made possible by England's bold and firm stand from the time that Spain, Austria, Germany, and France tried to force the United States to submit to European intervention. Indeed, since the opening of the war, England, and oftentimes England alone, has stood between the United States and the humiliation planned by the powers of continental Europe with the hope of bolstering up a tottering throne, holding a province subject to a foreign despotism, and thwarting the United States in its effort to foster free government and to succor the oppressed and fulfil her manifest destiny. This, perhaps, was at no time more noticeable than after the splendid victory of Commodore Dewey, when the continental powers sought to meddle in a way that would have placed our government in an extremely embarrassing if not a humiliating position. The friendly attitude of Great Britain has wrought a wonderful change in public sentiment throughout the United States, which the more or less thinly disguised hostility of the other great European powers has tended to greatly strengthen.

This question is fraught with possibilities so far-reaching and stupendous, it involves so much and offers so many points of view, that it calls for careful and serious consideration. Furthermore, beyond all questions of interest, this proposition appeals with peculiar force to philosophical students of his-

tory, because the suggested alliance is manifestly a logical union, and as such would possess the elements essential to permanency and strength. It would be along the lines of the destiny which is being worked out by both peoples; therefore the bond of union would in all probability grow stronger and closer as time passed. This would be impossible were there less real community of interest between our nations. We often see governments bound together merely by ties of self-interest, while there exists no other bond of union; when, indeed, the aspirations and ideals of these friendly governments are diametrically opposed. Such an alliance or friendly relation, in the nature of the case, lacks the element of permanency, and therefore is far less interesting than unions based upon common interests, ideals, and aspirations, and where the genius or spirit of government is in each case the same.

The specially amicable relations which were supposed to exist between Russia and the United States up to the breaking out of the present war afford an illustration of a friendship based on supposed self-interest, but where the ideals of the two nations were diametrically opposed. Russia has long claimed to be a special friend of the United States, and though there has been no close alliance between the governments, the friendship of the United States has been shown on at least one notable occasion, when the Senate ratified the treaty containing the obnoxious and un-American provision relating to our surrendering refugees accused of political offences. This treaty was passed in secret session, and when its contents became known it was so clearly repugnant to public sentiment that it was almost universally condemned. Russia on her part has never ceased to protest special friendship for us. Her press, which more perfectly than the press of any other nation reflects the sentiments of the government, has never tired of dwelling on "the hereditary friendship" of the nation for the United States. With the opening of the Spanish war, however, all this was changed. The Russian press began to speak in another voice, and the world received a fresh illustration of the fact that any bond which is composed wholly of self-interest is necessarily much like a rope of sand, liable to disappear at any moment.

There can be no question that the amicable relations between these two governments rested solely on self-interest, and subsisted largely on the bitterness of feeling felt by the United States for Great Britain, on the one hand, and the deep-rooted antagonism of Russia toward England and Russia's ever-present dream of some day possessing all Asia, on the other. Russia found that we cordially disliked our kinsmen over the sea, and she had no desire to see the wound healed; her friendship cost her nothing, and ours might some day prove of great value. On our part, the hostility of Russia to England tended to draw us toward the great Eastern empire, for the old animosity toward the mother country, which antedated the Revolution, had been greatly intensified by the war of 1812. The adoption of free trade by England also tended to widen the breach, by placing two commercial theories in opposition. The marvellous growth of the United States, on the one hand, and the commercial supremacy of England, on the other, further increased the jealousy between peoples who cherished resentment for each other. These and other similar causes made the United States friendly rather than otherwise to England's foe; but any careful student of political science would have known from the outset that there could be no enduring alliance or lasting friendship between the government of the Tsar and that of the United States, because one was the embodiment of absolutism, the other the personification of republicanism, and sooner or later these antagonistic ideals would necessarily clash, whereupon all semblance of friendship would disappear.

With the proposed Anglo-American alliance, however, the circumstances are far different, as here we have, in addition to considerations of mutual interest, the elements of permanency and strength found in a common language and a common blood, two factors of real strength, despite the ill-natured sneer of Prince Bismarck, whose dislike for England and fear of popular government embitter his thoughts and blind his mental vision. But beyond a common blood, language, and mutual interests, rises the factor which above all others is fundamental, and which more than aught else makes such an alliance worthy of serious consideration, and that is the

common ideal or goal to which the moral energies of both peoples are moving, the spirit which permeates all English-speaking nations, namely, popular sovereignty, or self-government; that is, republicanism in essence. While Russia and Germany personify absolutism, the English-speaking world stands in a real way for free government, or popular sovereignty.

Let me here note the principal factors which have led continental Europe to range itself on the side of Spain. In Austria there is the bond of common religion. There is also the natural desire on the part of the reigning house to preserve the throne of Spain for its kinswoman, the Austrian queen regent, and her son, as well as the desire to protect all neighboring thrones from overthrow. On this point the emperor has a very real interest, as his own throne has recently been threatened, and the sleeping volcanoes of social discontent are liable to break out at any time with more disastrous consequences than those which marked the upheaval of 1848, and which sent terror to every potentate in Europe.

In France we find the bond of a common religion, much as in Austria. Here, too, though we have no crowned head, we find a republic very un-republican in many respects; and, instead of an imperilled throne, there are imperilled bonds. The dynasty of bondholders and capitalists is menaced; at least a part of their holdings is in jeopardy. Then again, it is to be feared that the conclusion of many close observers who have lived in Paris and made a careful study of the political workings of the nation, is correct, that the spirit of the empire, rather than the republican ideal of Lafayette, lives, thrives, and blossoms in the France of to-day.* There is a strong

* Mr. Theodore Stanton, writing in THE ARENA for October, 1891, pointed out some of the essentially monarchical features of the French Republic. He had resided in Paris since 1873, and discussed these weak spots as a friend of the republic who viewed with alarm the monarchical tendency. His opinions have been confirmed by late observers. "It is astonishing," said Mr. Stanton, "how many monarchical customs have been preserved by the present government. The military household is one of the imperial institutions which the third republic has accepted and continued. . . . This same military parade is seen in the senate and chamber during the sitting of either of the bodies; a company of infantry is kept under arms in a room adjoining the legislative halls, and when the president of either house enters the building, he advances between two files of soldiers presenting arms, and is escorted to the chair by the commanding officer. The President of France is allowed 600,000 francs for entertaining and travelling, and his balls and dinners at the Elysée, and especially his official tours through the country, smack of royalty to an extraordinary degree." These are but a few illustrations cited by this and other critical observers which show how essentially monarchical is the spirit of the so-called Republic of France, at least in many respects.

tendency toward centralization; and the autocratic, not to say despotic spirit seems present so often as to make an American or an Englishman in France thankful that he is a native of a free country.

With Germany, the religious sentiment is not a factor in the government's attitude, nor is the holding of Spanish securities sufficient to influence public opinion on political action. The same is true of Russia. Yet in the case of Germany we find not only an unfriendly attitude, but that she has been only second to Austria in seeking to meddle and thwart the United States; while the press of Russia has been only second to the French press in outspoken hostility to the United States. The action of Russia in seeking to draw Austria and Germany closer to her, while she has maintained an attitude but little less aggressive in its opposition to us than that of Austria and Germany, has been far from that of friendly neutrality. In Germany and Russia one great factor involved is opposition to republicanism, a sentiment which carries with it a strong desire not only to uphold the Spanish throne in Europe, but also to preserve its foreign possessions. In other words, it is the spirit of absolutism pitted against that of republicanism. It is the theory which holds to the rule of one or of a few against the ideal of popular sovereignty. This element, as we have seen, is present in all the unfriendly continental nations, unless we except France; and if, as I hold, even France is more under the spell of monarchial ideals than those of pure republicanism, then no exception need be made. The genius of absolutism is pitted against the genius of free government as represented in a very large way by the Anglo-Saxon world.*

To nations like Russia and Germany, even England is scarcely less odious than the United States, for there the peo-

* The following press despatch from Berlin contains views which have been expressed more or less boldly by numerous continental writers in close touch with monarchial Europe, and it indicates the overmastering influences which lead the despotic or centralized powers to side with Spain: "Berlin, Germany, May 16.—An evidently inspired editorial in the *Post*, treating of the question of European intervention in the American-Spanish war, says: 'The time for a decision upon the question is rapidly drawing nearer. If the powers eventually intervene it will only be on condition that the Spaniards shall remain loyal to the reigning dynasty. If they show a disposition to change the government and place themselves under the control of the Republicans or of mutinous generals they need not reckon on the sympathy of the monarchial powers.'"

ple are so largely the rulers, and the genius of the government is so essentially republican, that the proximity of a government where there is so great a measure of freedom, and such content and prosperity, is a constant menace to the antiquated ideals which the Tsar and the Kaiser stand for. Indeed, to those who are more influenced by a name than by the reality for which it stands, and who fail to see the genius of free institutions in the government of England, I would point out the fact, that the British sovereign is in some respects less a factor in lawmaking than our President. England's sovereign has not the veto power, so potent a weapon in the hands of the President of the United States. There is to-day greater freedom of speech and action among the working people of England than has been possible among our laborers since the advent of what is aptly termed "government by injunction." True, England has her House of Lords, but we have the Senate, composed largely of corporation attorneys and very rich men, and in which complacently sits to-day a member whom the senate of his own State has charged with securing his seat by bribery. Moreover, the influence of the Lords is not nearly so great or so baleful as that of the trusts and corporations of the United States. The telegraphs and the postal saving banks are two examples of public utilities which are owned and operated by the people for their own benefit, a policy which, though truly republican in spirit and in the line of progress, it has been impossible to introduce into the United States because of the opposition of the unrepublican corporations. Again, in municipal government England has progressed much more rapidly than the United States. Indeed, if we study the history of the two governments since, say, 1840, we shall be compelled, if we are fair and unprejudiced, to admit that Great Britain has progressed more rapidly along the highway of republicanism than have we. True, she had further to go in some respects, but we have retrograded in more than one instance, notably so since the rise of corporate power and its ascendancy in political life. In view of the progress made toward republicanism in England during the past century and the freedom and influence exerted by her citizens in political affairs, it is idle to claim

that the ideals and aspirations of Great Britain are monarchial or retrogressive. Indeed, the more one examines into the great political currents which unerringly indicate the trend of government, the more he becomes convinced that the genius or spirit of each government, despite periods of depression, leads toward a constantly broadening liberty, a truer freedom for all citizens; in a word, toward the goal of ideal democracy or progressive republicanism.

In the present war we have a striking illustration of governments obeying their natural instincts, and ranging themselves on the side of despotism or republicanism according to the spirit which consciously or unconsciously dominates the national life of each. The great powers of Europe which are permeated with the spirit of absolutism, in siding with Spain, simply gravitated toward their own; that was all.

The sudden change in national feeling in America and England would, indeed, be surprising if there were real and fundamental barriers preventing an amicable understanding between the two nations; but such is not the case. At the present time, above the prejudices which we have inherited, and which have been aggravated on the part of both nations, we find two great powers of the same blood, speaking the same tongue, and animated by the same spirit or ideals, being drawn together by common interests into a friendship which should be enduring and mutually beneficial. Such a sudden change of public sentiment would hardly have been possible twenty years ago. During recent years, however, great changes have been silently wrought in the public mind. For example, high protection was the law and gospel of the Republican party, and to be even suspected of having a leaning toward "English free trade" was to commit a cardinal sin in the eyes of the simon-pure Republican. James G. Blaine, the most farsighted statesman of the later-day Republican party, threw a bomb into his own camp when he spoke for reciprocity, or "limited free trade," as his astonished fellow Republicans called it. The most effective arguments in the free-trade armory were called forth to support the new evangel of reciprocity, and from that date high tariff has not been popular. The McKinley bill cost the party its political prestige, and

Mr. McKinley's managers shrewdly kept the tariff in the background in the last campaign in order to save their ticket. The old animosity of the Republicans toward England has greatly diminished during recent years.

The Democratic party, on the other hand, which holds to free trade, is equally determined to secure free silver; and so long as England was supposed to be a unit for the gold standard, there was little chance for the voting millions of the West and South favoring any measure that would bring this nation into more intimate relationship with England. In Great Britain, however, a very strong silver sentiment is growing up, championed by many of her ablest statesmen, and undoubtedly favored by a very large proportion of the agrarian and laboring classes. The Parliamentary Report on the causes of depression among the English farmers gave so much importance to the demonetization of silver as a factor, that the document has been used extensively for campaign purposes on this side of the water. It was specially valuable as being one of many striking illustrations of a decided reactionary tendency, which, if aided by the growing silver sentiment of the republic under the condition of mutual amity, would in all probability soon predominate; for when the Anglo-Saxon is once convinced and aroused, even the most cunning conspiracy of financiers is powerless against a people's opposition. It is reasonable to believe that, with cordial relations existing between England and the United States, the gold standard would soon share the same fate in England that befell the corn laws and the high tariff in the forties. From the two great parties, therefore, I believe there is a fair chance for the favorable reception of overtures looking toward a better understanding and more cordial relations between England and our country.

There are two elements in American political life which already have had something to say on this subject, the socialists and the Irish-Americans, or the Irish element of our population. Socialists who are distinctly progressive and American in spirit will be likely to regard closer union of these nations favorably, as their methods of propaganda and work in general are largely patterned after those of

the Fabians of England, to whom they are much indebted. They are very intelligent, and well understand that socialists and laboring men enjoy quite as much or more freedom of speech in England as in America at the present day. They know that an active and systematic campaign is being pushed with good results in England, and that anything which would bring the two nations closer together would tend to bring these two armies of workers into more intimate relationship, and would help rather than hinder their work. On the other hand, it will be interesting to observe whether the German-American socialists will allow the opinions of the champions of absolutism in Germany to influence them.

The Irish-Americans dislike England so cordially that at first thought they naturally opposed any consideration looking toward an alliance; and this prejudice is fostered by such voluble Irishmen as Mr. Michael Davitt, whose enmity towards England leads him to make statements so reckless as to greatly impair any opinion he may offer, as, for example, his assertion that continental Europe is not antagonistic to us. Does Mr. Davitt think we have been asleep during the past few months? It is unfortunate that passion and hatred often blind reason and sober judgment, and lead men to go against their best interests. With the United States in the position of one whose friendship is valued and desired, would she not be able to exert a moral influence far greater than is possible now for the cause of Ireland? It certainly would seem so, and I am inclined to believe that a large proportion of the more dispassionate Irish-Americans will appreciate this fact and will favor more intimate relations between the two nations.

The word has been spoken; the two great nations with common language, blood, interests, and ideals have broken the ice and moved toward each other. Both peoples begin to realize how childish and puerile it is to cherish the animosity and prejudice bequeathed to us by our grandfathers. A union is proposed which is natural and logical and in the line of progress. Moreover, events are so shaping themselves as to render such a union desirable for the best purposes of civilization, as will be seen if we contemplate the trend of affairs in continental Europe.

During recent years the diplomacy of Russia has surpassed that of any other nation. She has an alliance with France, and it is supposed that there is also an understanding between her and Germany; she has a formal understanding or agreement with Austria; she has her eye on Constantinople; and she has her paw on poor China. She is, in short, the most formidable personification of absolutism in the world. Her ambition is insatiable; she has looked with hungry eyes toward Asia Minor, Persia, India, China, and Japan; she is intriguing even in far-off Abyssinia. Many believe she is also casting longing glances across the Pacific. Russia has silently but with great rapidity drawn to herself the nations which represent the imperial spirit. She desires Asia, and is willing that France and Germany may take England's possessions in Africa and Australasia if in the general division contemplated she receives the lion's share in Asia. She is the natural foe of England and the United States, for the vital reason that these liberal governments are a constant and a growing menace to the most absolute despotism of Europe's civilization. *Once dismember the British Empire and break the power of England on the seas, and all free governments the world over must feel the shock.* Why? Because England is progressive and liberal, and thus opposes all reactionary influences in European civilizations. She stands for constitutional government as Russia stands for autocracy. A blow to England would be a blow to all English-speaking nations, and, what is of greater moment, a blow at progressive and constitutional theories of government everywhere. Let the British Empire be destroyed and carved up, and the United States would not have long to wait for her turn.

We now come to notice the nature of the proposed union. Unless continental Europe should seek to humiliate the United States and prevent her from receiving reasonable terms of settlement from Spain, it is not probable that there will be any formal alliance between the United States and England for some time. Indeed, English statesmen and publicists do not as a rule seem to favor an alliance; they desire rather the cultivation of amicable relations, the drawing of each nation closer together, the mutual exchange of

those benefits which would mean much to each nation in case of war, but which would not necessarily involve either nation in the contentions of the other, unless, through a combination of hostile powers, the existence or integrity of either country should be threatened, in which case the other country would be expected to come to her assistance. This, in all probability, is the extreme extent of any alliance likely to be considered; it is all that a majority of friends of a united Anglo-Saxon world desire.

With commendable enterprise, the *New York Journal* has obtained the opinions of some of England's leading men on this subject. Below are a few of these, all of which, except Mr. Chamberlain's, are from the *Journal*.

Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his recent Birmingham address, said: "Our first duty is to draw all parts of the empire into close unity, and our next to maintain the bonds of permanent unity with our kinsmen across the Atlantic." (Loud cheers.) "There is a powerful and generous nation," said Mr. Chamberlain, "speaking our language, bred of our race, and having interests identical with ours. I would go so far as to say that, terrible as war may be, even war itself would be cheaply purchased if in a great and noble cause the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack should wave together over an Anglo-Saxon alliance." (Prolonged cheers.) "It is one of the most satisfactory results of Lord Salisbury's policy that at the present time these two great nations understand each other better than they ever have done since, over a century ago, they were separated by the blunder of a British government."

The Duke of Argyll said: "Undoubtedly where there are common interests there ought to be common action between us and America; and the Far East just now seems to be a case in point."

Herbert Spencer was moved by the deep importance of the subject to break his usual rule of reticence and say: "If the present crisis should bring about a cordial understanding between America and England, the benefits to themselves and to the world at large will far exceed all the evils now impending."

The Duke of Fife, the son-in-law of the Prince of Wales, conveyed the friendly sentiments of the English royal family in these hearty terms: "I cordially share the desire for peace and amity among nations. There is nothing which can conduce more effectually to that happy result than a hearty and complete understanding on all international questions between the two great peoples which have sprung from the Anglo-Saxon race."

Baron Russell, Chief Justice of England, had this to say: "As to the relations between these islands and the United States, I do not see how two peoples, speaking the same tongue, sharing in the same ideals, and having no substantial antagonistic interests, can fail to be on amicable terms; and I think that this feeling should be promulgated not by any contract of alliance, but as a result of the natural feelings which stir two nations situated as we are."

Mr. William T. Stead said: "The guiding, controlling intelligence and conscience of the British nation will remain steadfast to the present movement for unity of the Anglo-Saxon race. The real Great Britain, which lies beneath the surface and stands by its convictions and its friendships, will continue to give moral support to the United States and to strive for a closer relationship of ideas and policy between the two peoples. . . . Unity of the race is the dream of my life."

The Earl of Kimberley, the Liberal leader in the House of Lords, expressed his feeling toward America in these words: "I value as much as any man a good understanding and close friendship with the United States."

The Duke of Westminster, the greatest landowner in England, expressed the sentiment: "I can hardly conceive anything more conducive to the interests of civilization and of the general well-being of the world than a cordial understanding and more between the peoples of the British Empire and the United States."

The Marquis of Lorne, the son-in-law of Queen Victoria, and formerly Governor-General of Canada, said: "About two months ago at Sheffield I spoke in favor of an alliance with America. I have for many years done my best to strengthen our friendship for your country, for our joint trade

interests with foreigners point to such a policy as natural and grateful to both English-speaking countries."

The Marquis of Ripon, whose experience in connection with the settlement of the Alabama controversy has given him an insight into Anglo-American relations, said: "I earnestly desire to see the bonds of friendship between the two nations drawn ever more closely together, and I believe that their growing intimacy will be productive of the greatest advantage, not only to your country and mine, but to the world at large."

The Duke of Newcastle said: "I have always felt great admiration and affection for the United States, and should gladly welcome an alliance between them and my own country; but the difficulties in the way of this most desirable combination appear to me to be considerable. However, sooner or later, the alliance will be accomplished, and, in order that the time of waiting may not be unduly prolonged, it is earnestly to be hoped that the governments of both countries will carefully avoid everything which could give rise to misunderstanding."

The following extracts from representative English papers reflect the editorial opinion of the nation:

The *Times*, commenting editorially upon Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Birmingham, said: "Mr. Chamberlain was assured beforehand of the approval of the whole body of the unionists when contending that we must draw closer the ties binding us to the colonies. It was almost as much a foregone conclusion that the opportunity should be seized of establishing permanent relations of amity and something more with the United States, whose success in the operations that have lately taken place has been welcomed here as not only justified by the goodness of her cause, but as a tribute to the practical capacity of the Anglo-Saxon race in the business of war, even when no adequate preparation for the struggle had been made."

The *Daily Chronicle* welcomed Chamberlain's "brave and historic plea for an Anglo-American alliance."

The *Standard*, applauding Mr. Chamberlain's stand, said: "There is not the smallest reason to suppose that his convic-

tions are not shared by every member of the cabinet. They had been anticipated by most men who have tried to look below the surface current of diplomacy; and the special quality which he has imparted to the declaration was the emphasis of concentrated and unadulterated truth. We are liable at any moment to be confronted by a combination of all the European powers. The contingency should not be dismissed as impossible merely because it would be startlingly unpleasant. Already we have endeavored with no small success to draw all parts of our vast empire together in the firm determination to coöperate for the common defence; nor can it be said that there is anything lacking in our feeling of regard and friendship for the great kindred community on the other side of the Atlantic."

The *Birmingham Post*, Mr. Chamberlain's organ, said: "Two nations are already at war, and Mr. Chamberlain foresees that circumstances may arise which may involve other nations in a perhaps still more serious struggle. His allusion to America drew the utmost enthusiasm from the audience, and reflects not only the spirit of the meeting, but the spirit of the whole British race."

The *Yorkshire Post* said: "The duty of the moment imposes upon us the obligations of a neutral power; but nothing can prevent an interchange of sympathy at such a time between the peoples themselves. Mr. Chamberlain shows sound statesmanship in taking advantage of the present feeling on both sides of the Atlantic to indicate the great part which the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes may play if the two peoples are wise in the new conditions which are rapidly creeping over the world."

And what would be gained by such a union? Among many desirable objects that would result, we would mention:

1. The union of the English-speaking world in one mighty phalanx, to secure the realization of the aims of liberal and progressive governments, to further the best interests of civilization, to oppose by influence and education the reactionary currents of despotism, and to foster free thought, free speech, and enlarged suffrage.

2. With such a union, England and the United States

would be so nearly invincible that there would be little danger of war, while the Anglo-Saxon would have a voice in the political and commercial affairs of that larger life which affects civilization, second to that of no continental power. Such a union would be able to secure for civilization, progress, and humanity the authority which the English-speaking races should exert, but can only exercise in the event of such a union as is proposed.

3. Coaling stations all over the world would by special agreement undoubtedly be open to the ships of England and the United States. This would be a great saving in expense and an immense factor of vantage in time of war.

4. With such cordial relations existing, the people of United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India would touch hands in one mighty federation of brotherhood, whose bonds of friendship would grow as time elapsed; and in every English-speaking port our people would be at home and among friends.

5. Nothing else could so foster commerce. With such a union and such amicable relations existing, our commerce would move forward with giant strides. Between England and the United States there would doubtless be rivalry in this domain of activity, but it would be a friendly rivalry, and one that would soon cause the Anglo-Saxon peoples to enjoy the lion's share of the world's commerce, as Spain and Portugal enjoyed it in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

To recapitulate, these things may be put down as results which would be achieved by such a union: The supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon world; the spread of constitutional government, based on an ever-broadening suffrage; the checking of the threatening aggressions of absolutism; the fostering of free speech and free thought through the world; the union of peoples so formidable as to make war almost impossible; the commercial supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon world; the placing of the United States second to no commercial power; and, lastly, the securing of an ally which would prevent any continental power from meddling with American affairs.

Many Americans would oppose such a union, if for no other reason than that Washington and Jefferson did not

favor alliances in their age; as though changed conditions did not change the needs of nations, just as the demands of manhood differ from those of childhood. On this point the lines of our own Lowell are to the purpose:

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth.
They must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of Truth.
Lo! before us gleam her camp fires; we ourselves must pilgrims be.
Launch our Mayflower and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the future portal with the Past's dull, rusted key.

In a letter to the *New York Journal*, Rev. Lyman Abbott expressed the same thought in the following very suggestive words: "The time has passed when the United States can say, 'We are sufficient unto ourselves; we will go our way; the rest of the world may go its way.' The question is not, 'Shall we avoid entangling alliances?' We are entangled with all the nations of the globe: by commerce, by manufactures, by race and religious affiliations, by popular and political sympathies. The question for us to determine is not whether we shall live and work in fellowship with European nations, but whether we shall choose our fellowship with wise judgment and definite purpose, or whether we shall allow ourselves to drift into such fellowships as political accident or the changing incidents of human history may direct. It is for this reason I urge the establishment of a good understanding between the United States and England, in the hope that in time it will grow to a more formal alliance—civic, commercial, and industrial, rather than naval or military—and yet an alliance that will make us, for the purpose of our international life, one people, though not politically one nation."

There will doubtless be much objection in the United States, and perhaps much time will elapse, before the proposal will be acted upon; yet I believe that it will be realized some day, and that its realization will mark one of the most notable and far-reaching victories for enduring civilization.

JAPANESE HOME LIFE AS CONTRASTED WITH AMERICAN.

BY CHUJIRO KOCHI.

IN studying natural history we may be surprised to find great peculiarities in the distribution of life in the world, that both flora and fauna in Japan resemble those of distant America rather than those of the nearer Asiatic continent or Europe. In studying the nature of the people, we may be interested to find that the physique and characters of the Japanese are more like those of the American Yankees than of the other nations. They are both heroic and enthusiastic as well as ambitious and progressive peoples, but we find that the Japanese and Americans differ from each other in the details of their daily life, like the variations found in a single genus or species.

In Japan the households are managed with a view to the comfort of the husband. Whether they may be the homes of the rich or the poor, the wife as a rule aims to make in every possible way the life of her husband happy. In America the house is carried on with a view to the comfort of the wife. The husband works and saves every dollar for the purpose of making his wife as happy as possible. Consequently the Japanese have better wives, and the Americans better husbands.

Americans living in Japan, whether men or women, are struck by the fact that the Japanese husband has more power to control domestic affairs than his wife. Likewise the Japanese in America are impressed by the fact that the American wife has more to say in the management of the home than her husband. If the man in America is not degraded by the woman, the Japanese woman is certainly not degraded by the man. The Japanese woman is always treated with a respect and consideration beyond the conception of the common people of America. History shows that of one hundred and twenty-three Japanese sovereigns, nine have

been women. From ancient times the custodian of the divine regalia has always been a virgin priestess: The chairs of public and private schools are occupied by the women to the exclusion of men.

It has ever been a maxim in Japan, that the direction and scope of the wife's duties are altogether internal, while those of the husband are external; and she is not yet ready to take the political suffrage or to interfere in public affairs with her American sister, even though the latter laughs at her ignorance. But she is more contented in looking after the domestic affairs of her home.

It is not to be pretended for a moment that the Japanese woman excels her American sister in intellectual capacity. But in maternal affection, tenderness, anxiety, patience, and long-suffering the Japanese mother need fear no comparison with those who know the sorrows and raptures of maternity in America.

How sweet and how bright the American woman is! She can entertain her husband with her charming talk, and she can assist her husband with her intellectual thought; but there is one point in which the Japanese woman is above and beyond all American women, and that is her superior devotion to her husband. She loves and encourages him, and never neglects to show her tender affection for him even after his death. Remarriage of Japanese women among the higher classes is not very common, although it is not forbidden by law. The widow usually lives alone, and visits from time to time the tomb of her husband, to place there fresh bunches of flowers, and to see that the little resting-place is kept neat and clean. She has no other wish in mind except to be with him again, happy in the other world.

American writers have often said that marriages in Japan are always arranged by the parents, and that their children marry without love, hence there arise so many divorce cases every day. I do not deny this, but does the American girl always marry for love? If she does, why does she not keep her love forever? She loves so easily, hence she forgets so easily. The Japanese love may not begin until the wedding day, but then the husband and wife love each other dearly

and affectionately, as Edwin Arnold has shown in his translation of a popular Japanese song :

First 'twas all a jest,
Then 'twas dally duty,
Now 'tis at its best,
True faith, tender beauty —
Both quite love-possessed.

The marriage ceremony in Japan is of a purely domestic nature, weddings invariably taking place in the groom's house at his expense instead of the bride's, as in America. At the ceremony they would use a ring and kiss each other if the couple were Americanized, but they have neither ring to exchange nor the custom of touching lips. Kissing is as unknown to the Japanese as waltzing, and they consider it, as they observe it in America, to be a very debasing and low-minded way of expressing attachment.

I have an anecdote to relate from my own experience illustrating this fact. A few years ago, when I started upon my journey to America, a young and pretty American woman, who was a friend of mine, asked me, with an earnest appearance, whether I knew how the people greeted each other in America. I felt ashamed at my entire ignorance as to how they did so, but I frankly told her that I had never been informed on this subject, and asked for instruction.

"If you go to America," said the young lady, with a smile, "you will see that the people over there do not lower their foreheads to the floor as the Japanese do, but they stand straight and shake their hands, or kiss whenever they are very intimate friends."

"My friend," said I, "will you be kind enough to show me how to shake my hand as you do in America?"

She stood up and shook my hand slowly two or three times, meantime giving me a little lecture upon this American custom.

"Well," said I again, "I know now well enough how to shake anybody's hand in the American way without any fear. Show me, I pray you, my dear friend, the salute which you termed the kiss."

But unfortunately she did not teach me what it was, and

I did not know how Americans did this until I landed in San Francisco, where many men and women, both young and old, met their friends on board the steamer when she was anchored, and they kissed each other like the birds. At this moment I thought, how can the Americans be so foolish as to transmit contagious diseases to each other in this fashion?

The moral education of Japanese children is conducted partly at home and partly in school, and is based largely upon Confucianism. Courage, valor, zeal, sobriety, directness of speech, extreme courtesy, implicit obedience to parents and superiors, and deferential reverence and regard for old age, — these are among the chief characteristics looked for in the boys; while industry, gentleness, faithfulness, and cheerful demeanor are required of girls.

It does not necessarily follow that because Japan has not adopted Christianity she must be lacking in moral character; far from it. If we can rely on recent statistics, Japan is far more fortunate than any Christian country on the earth in regard to the number of criminals. On an average only one in seven thousand of the entire population is confined in prison.

Never do Japanese children leave or return to the house without prostrating themselves before the tender mother and softly asking permission of absence. Never does she return, but all the children and servants throng to the threshold, and, with forehead upon mats, greet her with soft ejaculations of welcome.

Little or no importance is attached to the religious training of children. Whether the parents be Buddhists or Shintoists matters not, for in either case the children rarely take any part in the religious life of their parents. It must be borne in mind, however, that Japanese morality is not based on religious doctrine. In America the case is quite different, because Christianity is only a lighthouse for the moral life of the people, therefore when they lose sight of this light, they are like a ship floating in the misty ocean. Look at the students in state institutions where there is but little religious influence, and compare them with the students in some denominational colleges, and we can easily find that

there is a great difference in their morals, and then we see how important Christianity is for the young men of America.

Many American friends of Japan are working together trying to elevate the moral ideas of the Japanese by introducing Christianity. No doubt it makes them immeasurably higher than those principles of Confucianism which have held sway for centuries, but, as matters stand, it is safe to say that they do not gain as much from Western learning as they lose in old-world tranquillity and sweetness of manner.

According to the recent census, nearly nine thousand young women have completed their higher education at the various colleges in America. Of this great number of well-trained women it is probable that about five thousand are at the heads of homes, or will finally find their career to be domestic. Besides these a great many thousands of refined women are found scattered throughout the country. Whether these women are good home organizers or not, I will not venture to say, but they are certainly fine educators of their children.

In this respect the Japanese women are not yet advanced enough to be compared with their American sisters, because they have only begun to attend higher institutions of learning during the last quarter of a century, although in literature, art, poetry, song the names of women are among the most brilliant of those on the long roll of fame and honor on whose brows the Japanese, at least, have placed the fadeless chaplet of renown. Their memory is still kept green by recitation, quotation, reading, and inscriptions on screens, rolls, memorial stones, wall fans, cups, and those exquisite works of art that delight even alien admirers east and west of the Pacific.

I do not know whether the rapid progress of Japanese civilization will tend to produce the so-called new woman or the bloomer girl in the future or not, but I am afraid that the Japanese woman, both through heredity and training, walks with contracted chest and lily-like droop of the head, and may not be able to stand the hard studies of the colleges. Tests by the pedometer tell that young men in Japan walk every day from twelve to twenty miles for a

week without feeling tired, while the strongest woman submitted to the test could hardly exceed five miles. This is largely due to the inconvenient dress and to the custom of sitting down on the floor and of turning the knees, so that greater physical endurance is necessary for her before the higher education can become more general. Nevertheless I do not say which is healthy or which is inconvenient in comparing the Japanese woman's dress with that of the Americans. Perhaps they both need reforming.

Now, if we advance a step further, and watch the customs of these two nations very closely in their minor details, we may be surprised to find that their ideas are often developed in opposite directions.

In the first place, the Japanese people have a deep-seated love of nature. Even an ignorant peasant has an almost incomprehensible love of the picturesque. Therefore all their houses are constructed so as to admit an ample view of the country, to keep them in a more cheerful mood; while in America this desire is but little developed, and there is no real sympathy with or understanding of it.

In the Japanese house we usually find a parlor or the best-furnished room in the rear, and placed there are a few works of art or a vase with flowers beautifully arranged. The Americans have their parlors in the front of the house, where the various ornaments are spread all around the room just as though the children had opened their boxes of playthings, and had placed some of their possessions at the windows to exhibit them to the public.

Japanese women generally wear a bright-colored undergarment with a dark shabby one outside, and they use more expensive silk and cotton for the former than for the latter; while in America women even fifty years of age often have a red bonnet on their heads, and seldom or never use any bright-colored cloth or expensive goods for their underwear, caring as they do only for external appearances.

In America there is not only a peculiarity in the making of clothes and houses, but it seems queer to the Japanese that Americans, when giving something to their friends, never forget to speak of or praise its usefulness or its scarcity, or

even its price; whereas Japanese give their presents with an apology.

What do you think a Japanese man would say if you asked him whether he had studied art or science or something else? No matter what you asked, he would surely say "No" or "Very little" at first, even if he were a noted scholar. Unless he had been Americanized, he would never tell how many years he had studied it or claim to be well posted on the subject.

Each of these two nations is distinguished by characteristics that have slowly crystallized into national idiosyncrasies, more or less antagonistic as regards one another. These differences have become fixed expressions of customs and habits, and attempts to transplant such things are not generally successful. For instance, about ten years ago, when the wave of Western fashion washed the shores of Japan, everyone, both men and women, put their old silk garments aside and dressed themselves in the Parisian modes. The European dress, however, especially woman's, could not lessen the personal charms of feature, voice, and gesture, but it hampered her movements, and she endured agonies through the tight shoes which she insisted upon wearing. So, too, when American players dress themselves in the Japanese style, and appear in "The Geisha" or "The Mikado," they look very funny to the Japanese, who can hardly keep from laughing at these poor imitations, though their natural politeness forbids such an expression of opinion.

The long, tranquil isolation of Japan, due to her exclusion of all foreign influences, was favorable to the growth of her own natural tendencies and to the establishment of forms of civilization which have their germs deep in ancestral blood; and it is more probable that Japan will keep the beauty of her own originality than that she will make a poor imitation of another country. She will not play the part of the ancient warriors who attempted to deceive their enemies by clothing camels with elephants' skins.

The Japanese woman has often been misunderstood by Americans. She is not only a gentle, graceful, and self-sacrificing creature, but she is not lacking in moral courage and

bravery. I heard of a beautiful girl, beloved and sought in marriage by two young men at the same time. It was of course a difficult thing for her to settle this trouble without hurting the feelings of one of the young men, as some of the fair maidens in this country have no doubt already experienced in their youth, but she finally decided to wed one of them, who treated her very well, and to whom she became fondly attached.

A few days after her marriage, while she was visiting at her mother's home, the young man who had been rejected by her came in suddenly with a sword in his hand to assassinate her mother. She saw her mother's danger, and sprang before him, shielding her mother by her own person.

"How cruel and dangerous you are!" said she. "But for the sake of my mother's peace, I consent to what you demand on condition that you first kill my husband."

"Will you then be mine after your husband death?" inquired the young man.

"Yes, certainly I will," replied she. "Come to my house," she added, "in the dark to-night; I will give a sleeping draught to my husband, and saturate his head with water to make you distinguish him from the others."

The wicked lover eagerly agreed, and the mother was too terrified to intervene.

At the appointed hour of the night, when all was still, having cut her own long hair and soaked her head in water, she lay down to await with splendid fortitude and self-abnegation the visit of the murderer. The young man made his way to her home, felt head after head among those of the sleepers in different rooms, came at last upon the wetted one, severed it with a quick stroke, rolled it in his cloth, hurried forth into the street, and proceeded to unfold his dreadful burden under the moonlight. It was not a man's head at all; but the lovely face of the woman whose peace he had ruined met his affrighted gaze.

I have noticed in America that young men pay great attention to the young women, and are often willing slaves to them, and that for the sake of their sweethearts they sometimes do not object to change their occupation or even their

religious belief. When I was travelling in New England during the time of the last presidential election, I heard a young lady say to a young man, with the most charming manner: "Dear me, I will not marry you if Mr. McKinley wins in the next election, but I will marry you if Mr. Bryan becomes President." This was not a mere joke; and I have found that the women often move the men's minds with their smiles in America more easily than they do in Japan.

The women in Japan generally dislike soft manners in the men; and the men also hate to flatter the women. The young men, especially the students, dress themselves in coarse clothes, and face cold and heat in short, scanty apparel. The women would laugh at them if they cared for their external appearance too much. Perhaps this is due to the old monarchial spirit still swaying the mind of the people, and they think that the young men must be made to live a vigorous life to fight with hardships before they accomplish their life work.

Although there are so many minor differences in the daily life of these two nations, their national characteristics or heroic spirit can be considered as being of equal rank in the world's esteem. Japan fought with China for the purpose of making Korea independent, just as the United States is now warring against Spain in order to free the starving Cubans from tyranny.

May the sun of Japan shine with the stars of America, and give their lights of civilization to the world forever and forever.

AMHERST, MASS.

THE EXTIRPATION OF CONSUMPTION.

BY LINCOLN COTHRAN, M. D.

THERE are myriad cures proposed for consumption, from the rank concoctions of shameless quacks to the really valuable remedies emanating from the man of science. With our present knowledge, advanced consumption is incurable. While the disease may hereafter be arrested by other means discovered, inevitably as gray hairs and wrinkles come with age, the patient cannot be cured, that is, restored to a condition of perfect health and strength. A portion of the lung has been destroyed. The air cells have been obliterated, and their place is occupied by scar tissue, like the disfigurement resulting from smallpox upon the face. But unlike smallpox a permanent disability remains, because vital tissue has been destroyed. An aerating portion of the lung is gone, and the rest of the body must ever after suffer from an insufficient supply of oxygen.

Though this cruel disease that wreaks its slow, sad havoc among men cannot be cured, what is infinitely better, it can be prevented. The civilized governments annually spend millions to prevent the introduction and spread of Asiatic cholera, yellow fever, and smallpox; and humanity shudders at the contemplation of these diseases; yet in the presence of this plague that is always with us and ever spreading with insidious and remorseless march, there exists a spirit of apathy and supineness that is a reproach to our intelligence, and eclipses the light of this age.

There are more deaths annually from this disease in California — the consumptive's paradise — than have been occasioned by yellow fever throughout all of the United States during the last seventeen years. There are more deaths from consumption in New York City alone in two years than have been caused by smallpox in the entire country since the foundation of the government. In any town of five

thousand inhabitants there are yearly more deaths from consumption than have been caused by Asiatic cholera in all of the United States for the past twenty-three years.

These statements, which can be substantiated by health records, are made not to minimize the evils of smallpox, cholera, and yellow fever, but with the purpose, on the one hand, to show the immense service to human life which quarantine has rendered in these diseases, and to arouse some intelligent action in dealing with the immeasurably more dreadful disease, tuberculosis.

Since the discovery of the tubercle bacillus by Robert Koch of Berlin in 1883, the knowledge has been at hand whereby the disease could be eradicated from the miseries of the world. A few words as to the nature of this malady will make the foregoing more intelligible to the general reader.

Consumption is not an hereditary disease in the sense in which medical men use the term heredity in such troubles as gout, insanity, and various nervous complaints, which are transmitted from parent to offspring. Tuberculosis is an infectious disease. It is "catching," like measles, whooping-cough, and diphtheria. One member of a family gives it to the others successively, until it often wipes out a household.

The tubercle bacillus is an exceedingly small, low form of vegetable life which grows best upon animal tissue, thriving only at temperatures near that of the normal human body. Its invasion, lodgment, and growth in the lungs of man or other animals cause the disease consumption. This germ is also the cause of fistula *in ano*, scrofula, lupus, spinal diseases, hip-joint disease, and certain incurable malignant ulcers resembling cancer. The tubercle bacillus contains the seeds of its own life in the form of extremely minute bodies called spores. It multiplies with almost inconceivable rapidity.

Professor George Nuttall of California, now teacher of bacteriology in Heidelberg, Germany, has invented a method of counting the bacilli. He estimates that a person with moderately advanced consumption will expectorate from one to five billion tubercle bacilli in twenty-four hours. With these myriad million seeds thrown broadcast by the wayside, is it

astonishing that a few should survive and take root in another person's lung?

There is no danger from the bacilli so long as the sputum is moist, but when it is dried and the bacilli float around on dust particles, then they are breathed into the lungs of healthy people. The germs are not only found in the apartments of consumptives, but are borne along by the winds on the streets. They invade the schoolhouses and theatres, street and railroad cars, factories and workshops, the mansions of the rich and the tenements of the toilers, the dens of iniquity and the houses of God. They are found on the dipper at drinking fountains, and even on the sacred communion cup. They lurk on the lips of those we love, and forbid affection's claims. They spare neither childhood nor age, seer nor simpleton, the just nor the unjust. They are found wherever man penetrates.

The query will be made, "Why does not everybody take consumption, since these germs are nearly omnipresent?" The answer is, Nature can overcome them so long as we are in good health. Once, however, let the health sink a little below par from other diseases, if there is a slight abrasion in the respiratory tract, as from a cold, and the inhaled bacilli will find lodgment, and consumption is inaugurated.

There are two ways of preventing the spread of consumption: private and public measures. Since the germs are harmless while contained in the moist sputum, patients should be required to expectorate in a suitable vessel. Either the sputum should be burned or the germs should be destroyed by pouring upon the sputum a solution of corrosive sublimate not less in strength than one to five hundred. If this plan is carried out where a consumptive is cared for at home, most of the germs will be destroyed, and other members of the family will probably escape infection.

But ordinarily consumption proceeds with such slow, treacherous strides, protracted over many months and even years, that the patient keeps about; and such is the prevailing unconcern that he goes everywhere unchallenged, spreading pestilence every time he coughs. For this class, and perhaps for all cases, public measures only would be sufficiently

comprehensive and effective in meeting all requirements. The plan here advocated, so far as I know, has never had publicity. In plain terms, it amounts virtually to the establishment of a national Molokai for the segregation and treatment of tuberculosis. Physicians of intelligence everywhere have recognized that residence in a suitable climate is of far more service in saving consumptives than any or all of the systems of medication.

There are vast tracts of land in Southern California and Arizona where the air is dry, free from irritating dust, and with uniformly high barometric pressure. These are the climatic conditions most favorable to prolong life or restore health to a sufferer from consumption. I would urge that such a place be selected, large enough to accommodate all, and that all cases of consumption be transported thither. Means must of course be provided for their residence, subsistence, and employment. Competent medical attendants could be procured. During the greater part of the year life in tents or out-of-doors would be most enjoyable. All forms of recreation, horseback riding, caring for stock, and tilling of the soil would make existence bearable if not pleasurable.

The importance of such procedure can hardly be calculated. It means lengthened life and possibly recovery to an innumerable throng of otherwise doomed human beings. It means the saving of inestimable wealth wasted in worthless nostrums, doctor's bills, and travelling expenses. It means ten or fifteen years added to the average span of human life. Grandest of all, it means the extinction and obliteration from our country of this dread disease, which kills with untold suffering more persons than wars and all other pestilences combined. Other governments, seeing our good results, would take up the work. To the few possessed of wealth sufficient to travel in the hope of improvement, such isolation as I have outlined might seem a hardship; but when considering the danger to their friends from infection, and subtracting the injury accruing from aimless and mistaken travelling, it would be a boon to even these sufferers. Such a sweeping measure as here urged, however, should be put upon the broad ground of public health and necessity, just

as seemingly harsh restrictions are imposed in quarantine against smallpox and yellow fever.

The segregation and isolation of lepers has long been practised, with results of immeasurable all-round good. So rare now has this disease become, that not one physician out of a hundred in the United States has ever seen a case of leprosy. Largely because of the manner of isolating cases of leprosy, arise the popular horror and dread of it. In reality, consumption is a hundredfold more infectious, or "catching." Leprosy is communicable from one individual to another only by the closest, most intimate, and long association, such as that of husband and wife. Yet people associate, eat, drink, and sleep with consumptives all heedless of their deadly peril. Let consumptives be treated by isolation, as our knowledge demands it, as just and beneficial to all, and this popular indifference would very soon vanish.

It is undisputed that leprosy has been practically effaced from civilization by the isolation of the afflicted. Through the agency of quarantine, smallpox, yellow fever, and Asiatic cholera have lost their terrors and no longer reap their rich harvest of death. In the case of these diseases the infection acts quickly and soon spends its fury. In tuberculosis, which runs its course slowly through months and years, the infection is perpetually given off, and a consumptive patient is therefore a never-ceasing menace to the lives of everyone about him. Until Koch's discovery of the tubercle bacillus, and the knowledge flowing from it, no one understood these dangers. Physicians knew nothing of the infectious character of the disease, and even now many are still behind the times. The general public is yet in almost absolute ignorance on the subject.

Let Koch's tuberculin test be applied to all the lower animals, and have those suffering from tuberculosis killed; let the human victims be separated and treated away from their kind, and man's greatest enemy will have been conquered.

These thoughts have been inspired by no idle chimera. We are confronted with a grim problem upon whose solution depends the physical welfare of the human kind. Through all the long generations we have been pained and perplexed

spectators of this sad tangle of destiny, whereby one-fifth of the race of man is enwrapped in hopeless meshes and abandoned to perish and die. How absorbing the interest, how fervent the hope with which has been heralded the announcement of some new "cure," such as Koch's tuberculin and Edson's aseptolin!

In spite of medical progress, consumption is increasing faster than increasing population should warrant. The reason for this is that the drift of population is toward cities, where people live closer together, the germs are more confined, and hence opportunities for contracting the disease are more numerous. The mortality list from tuberculosis of children in the cities is appallingly long, and is growing longer as time extends.

Let no disparagement be made against scientific efforts to cure this disease in individuals, still the melancholy fact remains that no cure has yet been discovered. The mournful train ever travels toward the cemeteries. Failure is written upon the tombstones. From the knowledge that the great German investigator gave us of the cause and nature of tuberculosis, it is manifest that it can be erased from the list of human ills by the segregation and isolation of tuberculous patients.

Shall we continue to live in the shadow which former ignorance threw over existence? Shall inactivity make science and knowledge a meaningless farce and travesty of progress, or shall these simple means be adopted to check the ravages of the world's greatest scourge?

SAN JOSE, CAL.

THE AMERICAN GIRL: HER FAULTS AND HER VIRTUES.

BY MRS. RHODES CAMPBELL.

IN our schools, our homes, on the street, and in travelling, we are confronted by our descendants, those who are to help make the world's future history: in other words, American children. In this wonderful age, when improvements on old methods are the order of the day, we look to the younger race with eager anticipations and proudest hopes. We do not expect perfection, but we fancy that our mistakes and faults are not to be perpetuated, and that a finer type of individuals are to be "turned out" than in the unenlightened past.

And what do we find?

On the street—generally the chief and most public one of the city or town—we meet the schoolgirl overdressed and in the worst possible taste. A jaunty velvet cape, hat with nodding plumes and flowers, and at an angle which challenges our wonder and admiration as to its "coherence of parts," kid gloves, perhaps laces. She is generally pretty, with a most evident consciousness of the fact, and carries herself with the self-possession and cool assertiveness of a woman of the world. Her mind is feeding far more upon the boys and beaux, or planning how to coax a new dress or wrap from mamma which will far eclipse Jane's or Emily's. This is deplorable even among girls whose fathers are amply able to afford it; but how often do we see emerge from some shabby little house a young girl arrayed like the Queen of Sheba, while in the background stands a woman overworked, untidy, wearing the meanest of clothes—the admiring but mistaken mother of the departing "lady of leisure." This girl is wretched until she can ape the dress of the class above her. Our boarding-schools are full of types of girls whose dress and habits are those of wealthy women, yet whose parents are drudging at home so that Eliza or Edith may "get learning."

A young man over twenty-five—and far from a prig—assured me that out of a large set of schoolgirls (whose ages were from thirteen to fifteen) there were but two or three whose whole apparent thoughts were not on the opposite sex. These girls are often bright and shrewd, with some excellent qualities, yet simplicity and naturalness are utterly lacking.

A mother, in speaking to me at a reception, of her little girl of three, observed smilingly that she was already a young lady, and entirely too fond of dress; that she spoke constantly of her beaux; adding that, being with her young aunts, aged fourteen and sixteen, she naturally heard much of such things. Think of a little creature of that age defrauded of rights and privileges which could never be made up to her in the future,—the freshness and happy *abandon* of childhood.

And this is no solitary exception, although possibly carried to a greater extent; for I know of many other tiny maidens whose relatives, among whom are numbered the mothers themselves, encourage their prattle about beaux, sweethearts, and dress. They think it sounds “so cunning.” A little girl of seven or eight was with her grandmother in a store the other day, and was genuinely unhappy because she was teased about a certain gentleman having “another girl” whom he was to marry, and “leave her out.” Everyone about the child seemed to think the affair extremely funny, so that I came to the conclusion that I should not feel otherwise were it not that I was hopelessly “old-fashioned.”

Look at the girls standing behind counters in the large cities, and note how few are conspicuous for simplicity of dress and dignity of manner. Among the vast army are some who deserve all honor for their efforts and often noble self-sacrifice; but in how many instances the position is sought merely to have a fuller purse with which to purchase finery to add to their already overstocked wardrobe, crowding out those whose wants are needs. How then can we feel surprise when this class of American girls wait upon us in our shopping tours with exasperating indifference or glaring ill-breeding? Hurried, with home duties awaiting us, how interesting

to be compelled to listen to snatches of conversation similar to the following:

First girl (chewing gum and holding out a box of handkerchiefs with one hand, while her eyes are turned away from the customer and towards her fellow-clerk): "Say, what did Belle know about that?"

Second girl: "She caught on; he won't speak to me now. Going to-night?"

First girl (to customer): "Yes, thirty-five apiece." (To second girl): "Indeed I am; got a swell suit. He'll have to look out."

A mother, talking to the head of a select and small boarding-school, deplored her young daughter's aversion to shopping. "I hope that being away from me, and in a city, she will be obliged to overcome her dislike," she added. The teacher, from a wide experience with schoolgirls, startled the other by her vehemence. "I cannot echo your wish, Mrs. Ferguson. If you had seen girls as I have, making the pretext of shopping the occasion to flirt and 'make eyes' at strange men clerks, you would be devoutly thankful that your daughter is averse to it, and pray that she may continue in a like spirit."

Many fine teachers complain of their girl pupils' lack of thoroughness and real interest. "It is not inability so much as that their minds seem so full of other things besides study," they complain.

When mothers strive to stem the current and insist on their daughters dressing more plainly and living simply, their task is rendered doubly hard by the cry: "They all do it, mamma; why must I be so different from the rest?"

In opening so many avenues to women hitherto closed, in the deservedly famous chivalric attentions of our men to their countrywomen, in the liberty allowed to children by their parents, are there not very real dangers to our girls? Are they not fast becoming less modest and sweet, more self-asserting and impatient of control? The slang in common use among our girls no one can doubt is on the increase. We hear "kid," "corker," "stuck on himself," "in the push," "he's chasin' Miss So-and-So." Some one has suggested that

for much of the latest if not choicest slang, Chimmie Fadden is responsible. To use slang is far from being a crime, and is at times expressive; but the increase of its use must be deplored, falling from the lips of refined, lovely young girls. It is most affected by the "bachelor girl" and the new woman, *bona-fide* types of whom are dashing, independent creatures, who, with all their vivacity and "go," are often a great trial to their elders. They think everyone but themselves narrow and old-fashioned. Yet Time, that great teacher, tones them down and often makes fine women of them. While we may deplore the repression and the narrower horizon granted to children in foreign countries, are there not some lessons we American mothers may learn from them?

Madame Blanc ("Th. Bentzon"), who is a very fair writer on any subject, wrote a recent article on "French Girls in Domestic Life," for *The Outlook*. It was really an answer to a Chicago mother's question: "Foreigners often reproach our women with the lack of domestic virtues and accomplishments. I have, myself, a daughter (now fifteen, and still a mere schoolgirl), and I am much puzzled to bring into her life the love and admiration for household duties. I am set to wondering how and when you do it in France."

Madame Blanc's reply is much too long to quote in full, but I give a few of her remarks. In answer to the above, she says: "Without hesitation I should say we do it all the time, and almost unconsciously, by contact and example. . . . The young girls take notes of the *cours* which they attend, which they enlarge at home. [A *cours* is something between a lecture and a lesson, for the student must furnish proofs that the statements heard have been understood and retained.] In this way young girls spend very little time away from home. Perhaps no one in foreign countries suspects the authority exercised over a French girl by her parents. . . . The art of cooking is held in high esteem; Carême has named it the 'fifth fine art.'

"Paris is not the whole of France—far from it, indeed; it is even becoming less and less typical of France, transforming itself into a cosmopolis. The provinces, on the contrary, remain obstinately true to themselves; and an enthusiastic Eng-

lishman, Mr. Hamerton, said of the provincial gentlewomen that they formed 'a class of ladies who apply to everything which concerns the management of a country house exactly the same spirit of scientific intelligence and well-directed personal energy which an educated and zealous officer will give to the welfare of his men, and the duties which he and they have to perform together.' "

Madame Blanc closes her articles thus: "One cannot excel in everything. The extraordinary activity of the women in the United States, although devoted to admirable things, seems to take them away from home a little too much; and lately I have read in some articles signed by Dorothy Maddox, what I should never have suspected, namely, that two-thirds of the American children—not the richer, of course—are suffering from lack of good food because the mother assumes too many unnecessary duties, 'the entire family waiting very often until the head of the house comes back at night before it can hope for a square meal.' If this be true, then indeed American women have something to learn from the old-fashioned French ones, who are, however, learning much more from them. Do not let the spread of knowledge of sociology and of general ideas among the girls of the future prevent their devotion to the many small duties upon which the happiness of those nearest to us depends. Now, to sum all this up for my correspondent. What has constituted the superiority of our girls, hitherto, in the matter of household work, is the limit fixed to the instruction usually given to women; the submission to duties keeping in check that individualism which is too apt to develop at times into egotism and self-sufficiency; a taste for domestic life; the generality of limited incomes; the respect paid by those around her to the possessor of this kind of accomplishments, while the value of other kinds is more or less questioned or denied. Nothing of all this can be imitated; one cannot retrograde towards simplicity. The future of the domestic life of the American woman seems to me to lie in the application of scientific methods, in the excellent results obtained by their technical schools, and in a certain culture, which must include a return to the humble and

natural duties by force of will and reason, in default of what comes to us by obedience, willingness, and inherited instinct."

And indeed we would not have our American girls fac-similes of their French sisters. We want them to keep certain traits peculiar to them, only adding thereunto other gifts, which, as they do not seem inherent, must be acquired. In reading letters from French children, or in closer observation of them, one is constantly struck by their manners. There is a pretty deference to their elders, a thoughtfulness in regard to the little needs of life, a charm of manner, which, if sometimes too much on the surface, might well be adopted by our American children.

And now we turn to a pleasanter and quite as true a picture of the American girl—her virtues.

Where else could we find such a large number of highly educated, bright, attractive young women who enter college settlements and perform daily such acts of self-denial, good fellowship, and love towards others less fortunate, than in our own land? Certain societies of nuns will perform noble acts of charity, but they have taken vows, and it is their life vocation. The English girl works among the poor, but generally with a self-consciousness and constant sense of patronage in her doing; the French girl as a rule confines herself to almsgiving. The American girl, on the other hand, does good with a disclaimer, or with a light manner and sense of humor which may mislead a stranger, who concludes that she is lacking in earnestness. I am now, of course, referring not to the schoolgirl *per se*, but to the young woman graduate, or to the society girl whose two or three years of social gayety have satiated her taste for such things and created longings for a more elevated and more satisfying existence.

I know of one such girl among my acquaintance, who, with everything in life to charm her, devoted her winters to a thorough study of the kindergarten system, and later taught it to the children of the slums. I know of another young girl who determined to learn a trade so as to be prepared for emergencies; and, following her bent, chose that of milliner. She practised her art in her father's establishment for some time, only giving it up to take the burden of housekeeping

from her mother's tired shoulders. Three young American women, friends of mine, spent some time abroad for study. One made a specialty of organ culture, a second devoted herself to three years of art study, and a third devoted herself to the cultivation of her voice. If James's Daisy Miller is one type of our American girl abroad, certainly there is another, truer and quite as common. These girls, entirely without chaperonage, led the most blameless of lives. They were, with all their love of fun and adventure, studious, hard-working, and sensible. If their Parisian friends looked askance at the freedom allowed them, they learned not only to respect, but to love them.

The American girl's adaptability is too well known to need mention here. We see her every day called to fill positions of trust, to perform the most difficult of social functions, to help her father, perhaps, in his business; and seldom is her effort a marked failure. Her grace and beauty of person are also self-evident facts, as well as her vivacity. With all her love of pleasure, look at the number of fine records as to scholarship at our women's colleges. If she is often loud and fast in manner if not in reality, if her girlhood is prominent for a certain light frivolity, how often do we see this same girl, after marriage, become the most conscientious of mothers, the most faithful and devoted of wives!

These are not all the known admirable qualities of our young women; and yet, while among my friends are numbered many sensible, interesting ones, I must reiterate my plea for a different *régime* for our children, especially our girls. We must open our eyes to the fact that the mass of American children are exacting, ill-mannered, rulers at home and abroad. Our young schoolgirls—perhaps far more in towns than in cities—are fast losing the peculiar heritages of youth and leaping with too great strides from childhood to womanhood; they care less for home life. Must we await a possible reaction, or shall we take the remedy into our own hands?

*Please don't copy
word for word.*

SOCRATES: PHILOSOPHER, SEER, AND MARTYR.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

THE life of Socrates, the most illustrious of the Stoic philosophers, was a protest against the moral degeneracy and the artificialities of his age. The rich legacy of his thoughts was emphasized by a pure and simple life.

He was the son of a statuary, and was himself a worker in marble during that moment in the world's history when sculpture reached the acme of excellence; when Phidias and his fellow workmen were making stone almost breathe, and crowning Athens with fadeless glory. This noble art, however, inspired little enthusiasm in Socrates, for he was lacking in that imaginative quality which is the love of creative genius. Indeed, he was as matter-of-fact as was our Franklin, a circumstance which did not bar him from hearing and being guided by a voice which he believed to be divine, any more than the stern practicality of the American printer boy precluded his daring belief that lightning could be caught and utilized for the benefit of man. But though possessing so little imagination, it is probable that no man of the golden age of Greece has wrought so powerfully and beneficently upon other brains, or has directly or indirectly impressed the world's thought so profoundly as this humble Athenian teacher; for virtue, like genius, possesses a divine potency. It affords food for the soul; it quickens life on the plane of its higher emotions; it appeals with irresistible power to every nature which amid the doubts, darkness, and perplexities of life is consciously reaching upward to the Divine.

X In speaking of the influence exerted by Socrates I am not unmindful of the fact that he lived in one of the most luminous centuries known to history,—an age in which art and philosophy rose full-statured before the dazzled imagination of a wondering world. Nor am I forgetful that this period brought forth Plato; but we must not lose sight of the fact that, had it not been for Socrates, it is more than probable

that the world would never have possessed the Plato whom we know, for it is stated that the great Stoic, then sixty years of age, dissuaded Plato from entering military life and so charmed him with his sincerity and simplicity of life and his wonderful magnetism, together with that remarkably subtle intellectual penetration for which Socrates is justly famed, that he not only abandoned his cherished dream of winning renown on the field of blood, but thenceforth became a devoted disciple of the greatest of the Stoics, remaining steadfast till the death of Socrates ten years later. Emerson held that Socrates and Plato must ever be considered as double stars, and it is largely to Plato that the world is indebted for the high and fine philosophy taught by his master.]

Not only did nature deny to Socrates the heaven-born gift of poetic imagination, but his physical appearance was far from prepossessing. Indeed, to beauty-mad Athens he must have appeared grotesque, with his short, stout body, thick neck, protruding eyes, upturned nose, broad nostrils, and thick lips. To look upon his marble effigy one would judge him to be the embodiment of stupidity and animalism. And yet he was not only the keenest thinker of his day, but no man of his age ever succeeded in mastering every passion, appetite, and desire as did this iron-willed philosopher, whose thirst for knowledge was only exceeded by his desire to do good. It may be helpful to know that Socrates reached his wonderful self-mastery and perfect poise only after a titanic battle against inherited tendencies, and where nature was reinforced by the appalling prevalence of vice in every walk of life. Cicero tells the story of Socrates in which a well-known character-reader is described as stating in the presence of the philosopher and his disciples that the physiognomy of Socrates indicated a man of strong passions and depraved character. The imputation was angrily resented by his pupils, who ridiculed the character-reader's want of knowledge, until Socrates reprimanded his friends, stating that the physiognomist was correct in so far as nature was concerned; and he further stated that it had been the one great object of his life to subjugate or eradicate all violent passions. The victory won by a man under such circumstances is ever an inspiration to those

tempted. It infuses courage into the mind; it stimulates the wavering will; it says to the tempted one, "If Socrates, endowed with strong animal nature and born into the world in an age of almost unparalleled vice, rose superior to all temptation, as he did, you can follow his footsteps; you also can conquer." Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of a more inspiring picture of moral heroism than that of Socrates as he conquers and subdues every appetite and desire, making them at all times subject to reason; while, with a simplicity of habit which boldly contrasts with the wealth and luxury on every hand, he mingles with all classes of Athenians, ever ready to teach and to learn, and at all times living in accordance with the highest principles of right as he understood them.

The father of Socrates was a poor man, and his son was compelled to follow his father's vocation for a livelihood. To work in marble when the heart is in the work yields a joy equal only to that of the master painter who beholds the wonderful dream which lived only in his brain blossoming on the canvas under his brush. Such must have been the joy of Phidias and Praxiteles and Angelo; but not so with Socrates. He lacked the imagination of both painter and sculptor. His was no creative genius; he saw no soul within the marble; he chiselled as he had been taught, working by rule rather than by inspiration. His work was doubtlessly conscientiously wrought, for duty and faithfulness in the exercise of any work he had in hand was ever part of his living creed. Yet, had it not been for a happy chance such as sometimes comes to man, and which, under a wise and just social order, would be the heritage of all, Athens would have had one more sculptor whose work at best would have been fairly good; but the world would have been denied the thought, the life, and the glorious death of one of the greatest philosophers ever sent as a voice of God to call man back to virtue, integrity, sincerity, and sympathy. This happy chance which enabled Socrates to cast aside the chisel and become a teacher of ethics was found in the interest of a wealthy Athenian named Crito, who was attracted by the fine thought and the sturdy ideals of the youth. He learned his heart's desire, and from his abundance gave him sufficient to enable him to fol-

low the dictates of his desire, or rather the admonitions of the voice which seemed to have been his ever-present guide, monitor, and friend. It is said that from time to time during his life Socrates repaired to his workshop and plied his trade, so it is probable that he was unwilling to draw much from the bounty of his friend.

His life was always marked by great frugality and temperance. His clothes were of the simplest; he wore no sandals; he ate little, and seemed to regard gluttony and all excess in eating as scarcely less a sin than drunkenness. He counselled temperance in all things, and the only times he was ever known to depart from his rule were when he was engaged in asking questions; indeed, he was a living interrogation point. He asked no idle query; behind the most insignificant question lay a fact or a truth which the philosopher wished to impress or elucidate.

His manhood fell among the most thrilling years in the history of Greece, and though few men have lived who disliked war, strife, and the infliction of pain more than did Socrates, yet when his native land was imperilled no man was more ready to fly to her defence. He served in three different campaigns during the Peloponnesian war. His example was infectious, and his pupils joined him with enthusiasm, each desiring to fight near the master's side. In the first campaign he displayed superb courage and an indifference to death which inspired those around him to such a degree that they remained facing the foe after prudence warned them to retire. It was at this time that young Alcibiades was overcome by the onswEEPing foe. To attempt to rescue him was courting death. There was little probability of success, and many chances in favor of the would-be rescuer being himself overpowered; yet no personal consideration weighed in the mind of Socrates. One of his pupils, a brave youth, was down, his place was by his side, and like a fabled fury we see the transformed philosopher dashing to the rescue. His courage and impetuosity were irresistible; Alcibiades was saved, and Socrates was tendered a prize for bravery. This he promptly refused, requesting that the youth he had rescued, who had shown a high degree of daring, should receive the

honor. Socrates cared nothing for military glory and little for the praises of men. In a subsequent campaign Socrates excited the wonder and admiration of the enemy by his dauntless bravery. On this occasion he saved the life of another pupil, Xenophon, who afterwards preserved for posterity one of the most trustworthy descriptions of Socrates and his teachings that we possess.

To face death on the battlefield calls for courage of a high order, and yet there are far severer trials of essential heroism than this. One of these trials fell to the lot of Socrates. In 406 B. C., when a member of the senate, the trial of the victors of the battle of Arginusæ occurred. Socrates was president of the prytanes at the time. He resisted an unjust and unconstitutional demand made by the fickle and inflamed populace, refusing to judge in an irregular manner a question upon which the life and death of the eight generals depended. The mob became furious, and after the shout had been raised demanding that the refractory prytanes should be punished for failing to obey the demands of the populace his colleagues yielded. But the philosopher was granite: he feared not death or the ill-will of the people so much as he loved justice and the constitution which he had sworn to faithfully uphold. This experience proved, however, that a man who proposed to follow his highest ideals, to be just and law-abiding, could not long remain in public life in the republic of Athens, which was so largely influenced by rich and unscrupulous demagogues. His supernatural voice was warning him to retire to private life and teach such as desired to find true wisdom. Thus his political career was given up that his integrity and principles might be preserved.

There was, however, another occasion before his last trial when the powers that ruled almost compassed his ruin. It was during the domination of the thirty tyrants that he, together with four other prominent citizens, was ordered to go to Salamis and bring Leon to Athens for the purpose of having him put to death. Socrates alone refused to be a party to the proposed crime. Had not the tyrants been overthrown shortly after this refusal, it is probable that his life would have paid the penalty of his loyalty to the right. Here we

have sublime illustrations of true heroism in action and repose, the dauntless bravery which unflinchingly faces death at the point of the spear, and that still nobler courage which refused to do wrong even at the command of an infuriated populace or a merciless oligarchy. In the life of a scholar and a man of peace who was always conspicuously devoid of desire for glory or power, such exhibitions are very striking. After retiring from public life Socrates devoted his time to teaching the citizens of Athens those ethical principles which underlie good character, and on the presence of which the greatness and permanence of civilization so largely depend. He invariably refused money for his instruction, and in this respect, as well as in the utter absence of selfishness, the beautiful simplicity of his life, and his single-hearted devotion to truth, duty, and what he conceived to be the requisites of good citizenship, he strongly reminds us of the great Nazarene.

Socrates was above all practical. Few historical characters have cherished a firmer belief in the existence of higher powers and their personal concern for the children of men, yet his speculations were confined almost entirely to the present life and man's duty to his parents and relatives, to his friends, his neighbors, the state, and society. His one great passion seems to have been to raise the working ideal in each individual and thereby make him sincere, noble, and true in all his relations of life. His supreme aim in life was to raise the standard of morality among his people. He saw his country plunging into an abyss of moral degradation; he appreciated the peril which confronted Athens, arising from the frightful voluptuousness and indulgence which were permeating life in all stations; and his chief concern was to check the excesses which were destroying the invincible spirit of earlier days, degrading society, sapping morality, undermining virtue, and inviting the downfall of the city of Minerva. Of Socrates Emerson says: "He was not, like other men, the sport of circumstances, but by preserving habits of forbearance and self-denial he had acquired that control over his whole being which enabled him to preserve that even, unchangeable temperament in all the extremes of fortune."*

* "Character of Socrates," in two essays, by Ralph Waldo Emerson, p. 20. Published 1896.

Xenophon, in describing the life and habits of his illustrious master, says: "Socrates was not only the most rigid of all men in the government of his passions and appetites, but was most able to withstand cold, heat, and every kind of labor; and besides he was so inured to frugality that, though he possessed very little, he very easily made it a sufficiency." * In another place Xenophon says: "He disciplined his mind and body to such a course of life that he who should adopt a similar one would, if no supernatural influences prevented, live in good spirits and uninterrupted health. He took only so much food as could be eaten with a keen relish; he never drank unless he was thirsty; he ever guarded against overloading the stomach, and warned those who were so inclined never to take anything to stimulate them to eat when not hungry or to drink when not thirsty, holding that these things disordered stomach, head, and mind." He used to say in jest that he thought Circe transformed men into swine by entertaining them with an abundance of luxuries, but that Ulysses, through the admonition of Mercury, and through being himself temperate, forbearing to partake of such delicacies to excess, was in consequence not changed into a swine." †

Socrates abhorred idleness. He was too close a student of human life and too keen a philosopher to fail to see how much sin, misery, and want are directly traceable to idleness. Xenophon tells us that he ever maintained that "To be busy was useful and beneficial for man; and that to be unemployed was noxious and ill for him; that to work was a good, and to be idle was an evil. He at the same time observes that those only who desire something good really work, but that those who gamble or do anything bad or pernicious he calls idle." ‡

On one occasion Antiphon, a well-known Sophist, sneered at Socrates because of the simplicity of the clothes he wore and the plain food he ate, and because he taught the truths he believed to be conducive to virtue without remuneration. Socrates replied in a thoroughly characteristic manner: he preferred not to be a slave to gluttony or sleep or any other

* Xenophon's "Memorabilia," Book First, chap. 2, verse 1.

† Xenophon's "Mem.," Book First, chap. 3, verse 7.

‡ Xenophon's "Mem.," Book First, chap. 2, verse 57.

animal gratification, holding that he derived far more true pleasure from the consciousness that he was growing better than would be possible from the passing pleasure of a slavish appetite. This last observation gives us the point of view from which the philosopher regarded life and its pleasures at a time when Athens was drunken with pleasure; when voluptuousness was only equalled by gluttony and intemperance. While these pseudo-pleasures passed current for real enjoyment, Socrates, seeing the madness which infected his fellow-citizens in consequence of the imagination being weakened and stimulated on the lower planes of sensation, strove to elevate the ideals and arouse the higher impulses of the people. In these words of the master, as recorded by one of his most conscientious disciples, we are brought into close rapport with the mind of the teacher: "Indolence and pleasure, enjoyed at the moment, are neither capable of producing a good constitution or body, nor do they bring to the mind any knowledge worthy of consideration; but exercise pursued with persevering labor leads more to the attainment of honorable and valuable objects. As Hesiod somewhere says: 'Vice it is possible to find in abundance and with ease, for the way to it is smooth and lies very near; but before the temple of virtue the immortal gods have placed labor, and the way to it is long and steep and, at the commencement, rough, but when the traveller has arrived at the summit, it then becomes easy, however difficult it was at the first.'" * On another occasion Socrates said: "If when a war was coming upon us we should wish to choose a man by whose exertion we might, ourselves, be preserved, and might gain the good mastery over our enemies, should we select one whom we knew to be unable to resist wine or sensualism or fatigue or sleep? How could we imagine that such a man would either serve us or conquer our adversary? Is it not the duty of every man to consider that temperance is at the foundation of every virtue and to establish the observance of it in his mind before all things. The philosopher should turn the attention of men from regarding the weakness of their fellow men to a contemplation of themselves." On this point he says: "Be not ignorant of

* Xenophon's "Mem.," Book 2, chap. 1, verse 20.

yourself, my friend, and do not commit the error which the majority of men commit, for most men, though they are eager to look into the affairs of others, give no thought to the examination of their own. Do not you neglect this duty, but strive more and more to cultivate a knowledge of thyself." * He spent much time in striving to inculcate high ideas of right and justice in the minds of youths who aspired to political honors. "Do not," he said, "be regardless of the affairs of your country if any department of them can be improved by your means, for if they are in a good condition, not only the rest of your countrymen but your own friends and yourself will reap the greatest benefits."

Here is a beautiful and suggestive story of one of the many good things wrought by the philosopher. It emphasizes a lesson very much needed to-day touching the dignity of labor. One of his disciples, Aristarchus, complained to Socrates that he had fourteen free-born relatives at his home; his resources were at an end; he found it impossible to borrow money; he was greatly distressed and downcast, not knowing what to do. Socrates pointed out to him that others, by engaging in useful vocations, such as spinning, the manufacture of garments, and the making of barley meal, were earning more than a comfortable living. Aristarchus replied that such persons were artisans, while his relatives were persons of liberal education. Socrates desired to know if they knew how to do useful work, such as spinning, for example, and was informed that they did; but his disciple maintained that his relatives were free-born. Socrates replied: "And because they are free-born do you think they should do nothing but eat and sleep? Do you find that idleness and carelessness are serviceable to mankind? In what condition will men be more temperate, living in idleness or attending to useful employment? If indeed they were going to employ themselves in anything disreputable, death would be preferable." These and similar questions and considerations were advanced by Socrates until his disciple was so thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of the master's position that he forthwith laid the facts of his position before his relatives, and suggested how they could

* Xenophon's "Mem.," Book 3, chap. 7, verse 9.

be relieved of their embarrassment by engaging in some productive employment. To his gratification his relatives entered joyfully into the plan, whereby all could be self-supporting by engaging in productive labor. Wool was bought, and work was commenced. Soon, he afterwards informed Socrates, the household became cheerful of countenance instead of gloomy; and instead of regarding each other with dislike, they met the looks of each other with pleasure. "They loved Aristarchus," Xenophon says, "as their protector, and he loved them in return as being a help to him." This beautiful incident not only illustrates the views of Socrates in regard to honest toil and his abhorrence of dishonest pursuits and deeds, but also shows how his life was ever a blessing to others,—how joy, goodness, and virtue sprang up in his pathway. It also gives us a hint of a profound philosophical fact: where all persons are engaged in honest and productive toil, sooner or later a feeling of independence and a consciousness of usefulness and of deep inward satisfaction come into each life. A state or society in which all persons labored according to their ability would be a state in which we should find a maximum of happiness as well as of service, provided the spirit of the golden rule vitalized national life.

At one time Socrates said, "Do not imagine that the good is one thing and the beautiful is another." In selecting a friend, he suggested that "Only such a one should be chosen as a companion who was proof against the seductions of bodily pleasures, and who was upright and fair in all his dealings." A maxim of Socrates, "Perform according to your ability," calls to mind a similar idea in broader application, as used by Mazzini when he said, "From each according to his ability." When someone asked Socrates what object of study he thought best, he replied, "Good conduct." At another time he said, "Those live best who study best to become as good as possible." His strange lack of imagination and the absence of any pleasurable sensations arising from an active fancy and a creative mind were illustrated in the opinion, advanced on one occasion, in which he held that colored decorations on the walls deprived us of more pleasure than they afforded. This also suggests a fact which it is well to bear

in mind: reformers are ever prone to go to extremes. The age in which Socrates lived was beauty-mad, if I may use that term. The vigor and the robust quality of art in a simpler state of society had given place to an art which was very sensuous in its nature, and which tended to chain the imagination too much to the physical form and to sensual concepts. With rare and notable exceptions, it lacked the suggestions of noble endeavor and the presence of ideals which would arouse fine and exalted thought. With this hothouse art came moral enervation and the lowering of ethical standards.

This, doubtless, had something to do with influencing Socrates's opinion, as it has led many great philosophers and theologians since his day, to regard art itself as sensual and enervating. They have failed to realize that in times past art has been able to blossom freely only where there was great wealth, which enabled the artists to throw their undivided energy into calling forth the wonderful dreams which dwelt in their imaginations. And in societies where there is great centralization of wealth, without proper ethical culture, we shall ever find ease and idleness, with vice creeping at their heels. Socrates, like Savonarola and the leaders of the Protestant Reformation, seems to have failed, in a measure at least, to appreciate the potential power of art as an elevating as well as a refining factor in life. Yet we must not suppose that the great stoic took no interest in art. His ideas were pronounced and eminently correct in regard to the kinds of pictures best calculated to do good. Thus, Xenophon describes a conversation on art, held by the philosopher with a young artist named Parrhasius, who later became a distinguished painter, in which Socrates sought to impress the artist with the idea that he should represent that which was fair and lovely instead of that which was revolting and repulsive. From close observation he evidently appreciated the fact, which probably his lack of fancy failed to make him feel in an overmastering way, that the mind is more or less influenced by those things which the eye constantly sees.

The marital relations of Socrates were unfortunate. The temper of his wife was notorious, and it is probable that their union was one of those seemingly unhappy marriages in

which persons of entirely different tastes and temperament are yoked together. That there was much that was uncongenial in their thought-worlds is doubtless true, but there is no good reason to believe that Xanthippe was the shrew she has been represented to be, notwithstanding the fact that Xenophon describes Socrates's oldest son, Lamprocles, as excusing his disrespect to his mother by declaring that he could not endure her temper; that she said such things that no person would endure to hear them for the value of his possessions. Socrates, however, speaks kindly of her; and we know that she manifested deep affection for the philosopher during his imprisonment prior to his death.

The great stoic ever cherished a profound faith in Deity. Kuhnert says: "Socrates and those who came after him, Plato and the Stoics and Cicero, were advocates of the opinion that, besides the one supreme God, there were others, far inferior to him, but immortal and of great power and endowments, whom the supreme God employed as ministers in the government of the world." Their conceptions, evidently, were not materially unlike those of the authors of the Bible, who believed in angels and archangels,—inferior beings, but immortal, and some of whom were far more powerful than others. Xenophon tells us that Socrates considered that the gods knew all things—what was said, what was done, and what was meditated in silence—and were present everywhere.* On another occasion the philosopher said: "The mind within your body directs your body as it pleases, and it becomes you, therefore, to think that the intelligence pervading all things directs all things as may be agreeable to it, and not to think that while your eye can extend its sight over many furlongs, that of Deity is unable to see all things at once; or that while your mind is able to think of things here or things in Egypt or Syria, the mind of Deity is incapable of regarding everything at the same time."

Socrates spent little time speculating upon the probability of a future life. Indeed, if we accept the words which Plato puts into the mouth of the sage the hour before his death, there is little among the recorded views of Socrates which can

* Xenophon's "Mem.," Book 1, chap. 1, verse 19.

justify us in assuming that he held any positive belief in another life; and it is doubtful whether we are warranted in regarding the views attributed to Socrates in "Phædo" as being other than Platonic arguments. Certain it is that the conceptions there set forth are entirely at variance with the statements which Plato and others attribute to Socrates in his defence before his judges. Thus, in the "Apology," Plato, who, it will be remembered, states specifically that he was present and heard Socrates deliver the defence, represents the philosopher as saying, touching the subject of death: "Let us reflect in another way, and we shall see that there is great reason to hope that death is a good, for, one of two things,—either death is a state of nothingness and utter unconsciousness, or, as many say, there is a change and migration of the soul from this world to another. Now, if you suppose that there is no consciousness, but a sleep like the sleep of him who is undisturbed even by dreams, death is an unspeakable gain; . . . but if death is the journey to another place, and there, as many say, all the dead abide, what good, O my friends and judges, can be greater than this? What would not a man give if he might converse with Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, and Homer? Nay, if this be true, let me die again and again! Therefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know of a certainty that no evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death. The hour of our departure has arrived, and we go our ways, I to die and you to live. Which is better, God only knows."

There are many reasons for regarding the "Apology" as representing the ideas of Socrates as given in his defence, for: (1) so far as Xenophon refers to this address, his references are in perfect keeping with the thoughts here given; (2) it was a public utterance, and Plato would not have been likely to take the liberty with it that he undoubtedly did take in other works, when he put his subtle metaphysical philosophy into the mouth of plain, practical Socrates; (3) the address is in perfect keeping with the lifelong teachings of Socrates, which have been preserved; and (4) Plato distinctly states that he was present and heard the "Apology." Now, in "Phædo" he goes out of his way to state that he was not

present at the last memorable interview of Socrates with his sorrowing disciples, and even Phædo's story was not told until some time after the master's death. Thus, we are not justified in attributing to Socrates the Platonic arguments in favor of immortality, which are so radically different from the views advanced by Socrates in the "Apology." For the same reason I have refrained from quoting from "Crito" and other works of Plato. In all cases except the "Apology," it is difficult to separate the Platonic from the Socratic thought; or, rather, it is not safe to attribute to Socrates words which the great disciple puts into his mouth, unless we know from other sources that they were at least in strict keeping with the views and teachings of Socrates.

We now come to notice one of the faculties connected with the life of this remarkable man—the power or gift of the seer, present with the most hard-headed, unimaginative, and sternly practical thinker of the Periclean age. Indeed, I know of no distinguished philosopher who affords so interesting a psychological study as Socrates. Painting and sculpture had few charms for him; the glories of mountain, sea, and plain never wooed him from the crowded throngs of Athens; neither the wonders of nature nor the glories of art stirred or thrilled his being as they move even men and women of ordinary imagination. While he abhorred metaphysics and had no love for new ideas or speculations relating to physical science, he was a believer in the gods, and in love with his fellow men. Above all else he was practical, and yet, beyond all the philosophers of his day, he was a dreamer. It is stated that he fell into profound reveries at times; he beheld visions, heard voices, and was in intimate relationship with the invisible. According to Plato, Socrates beheld a vision of a beautiful woman, who correctly predicted to him that he would not pass from life for three days, when all his friends, and he himself, supposed that he would surely die in two days. In his "Apology," when speaking of his life-work, teaching the people, he says: "It is a duty imposed upon me by God, and has been signified to me by oracles, voices, and in every way in which the will of Divine Power was ever intimated to anyone." Of the divine monitor, or voice, which was ever

present, he thus speaks in his "Apology:" "This sign, which was a kind of voice, first began to come to me when I was a child. It always forbids, but never commands me to do anything which I am going to do. This is what deterred me from being a politician, and rightly, I think." Xenophor says that, "Socrates spoke as he thought, for he said that it was the Divinity that was his monitor." He also told many friends to do certain things, and not to do others, signifying that the Divinity had forewarned him. On several occasions it is related that the philosopher's power in this respect was very wonderful. The last words of Timarchus were, "I am going to my death because I would not take the advice of Socrates," the sage having warned him of his fate.

It would seem from the evidence which we possess that Socrates was clairaudient, clairvoyant, and at times possessed prevision. The clairaudient faculty was most marked, however. The strange voice was so constantly with him that it became as a loving monitor and guide. Because it did not remonstrate during his defence, he felt convinced that the higher powers had decreed his death. And this brings us to his apprehension, trial, and execution.

The sage was seventy years of age; his life had been spent in uplifting and ennobling his people, but his frankness, and the direct manner in which he exposed the shallow claims of pretenders by ingenious interrogation, raised up many enemies. The upholders of vice and artificiality naturally shrank from the man of all men whose consistent life and keen penetration complemented a brilliant intellect. Like Jesus, he was a disturber of the peace; and, like the Pharisees, the corrupt demagogues raised the cry of "infidelity," and also charged that he corrupted the youth of Athens. Socrates refused to flatter the judges, after the manner of his time. He would not belittle himself nor demean his manhood, even to save his life. He defended himself, and put his accusers to confusion by his series of questions. He vindicated himself nobly, but the majority of the judges voted to condemn him. Then, as was the custom, Socrates was given the opportunity of proposing a penalty less severe than capital punishment. To the amazement and disappointment of his friends, the

philosopher delivered a dignified and somewhat haughty reply, which cut off all hope of a light sentence coming from a judiciary which represented the corruption and artificiality which then permeated Athenian life. In the course of his defence, Socrates said: "God only is wise. A man who is good for anything ought not to calculate the chances of living or dying. He should only consider whether in doing anything he is doing right or wrong—acting the part of a good man or of a bad. Wherever a man's place is, whether that place which he has chosen, or that in which he has been placed by a commander, there he ought to remain. In the hour of danger he should not think of death, or anything but disgrace. Men of Athens, I honor and love you, but I shall obey God rather than you, and while I have life and strength I shall never cease from the practice and teaching of philosophy, exhorting anyone I meet, and saying to him after my manner, 'You, my friend, a citizen of the great and mighty and wise city of Athens, are you not ashamed of heaping up the greatest amount of money and honor and reputation, and caring so little about wisdom and truth and the greatest improvement of the soul, which you never regard or heed at all?' My great and only care in life has been lest I should do an unrighteous act or an unholy thing. The difficulty, my friends, is not to avoid death, but to avoid unrighteousness, for that runs faster than death. No evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death."

Such were some of the thoughts uttered by the sage in the course of his defence, which was characterized by indifference to death, and at times rang with a note of defiance and contempt for the craven natures who would yield to popular demagogues and condemn a high-minded and just man. Thus we find him referring to his condemnation and to his accusers in these words: "I depart hence, condemned by you to suffer the penalty of death; they [his accusers] to go their way, condemned by the truth to suffer the penalty of villany and wrong." Xenophon states that Socrates said: "I have never wronged any man, or rendered any man less virtuous. I have always endeavored to make those better who converse with me." He further said that he had gone through life consider-

ing what was just and what was unjust; doing what was just, and abstaining from what was unjust.

But the fickle populace of Athens, who had been led by the constant words of designing demagogues to believe that Socrates was not a friend of the republic, had set its heart on the punishment of the venerable philosopher. The judges were the creatures of the mob, and the sentence went forth that Socrates should die.

It was the custom in Athens that the condemned should suffer death on the day following the sentence; but it was also a law that no person should be put to death during the time when the sacred vessel had gone on its annual mission to Delos, and therefore Socrates remained in prison thirty days. Crito and other disciples who possessed means devised a plan to rescue Socrates, but the philosopher refused to leave his prison. He spent his days prior to his death conversing with his disciples, who visited him in his prison. At this time he gave his final teachings, dealing chiefly with the graver problems of life. When the hour of his death arrived, his wife and children and followers were distracted with grief; Socrates alone remained serene. His tranquillity in the supreme hour of death was in keeping with his life. Xenophon says that "No man ever endured death with greater glory."

{Socrates was one of the noblest men that Athens gave the world. Dr. Joseph Thomas says, "He has been regarded as the most perfect example of a wise and virtuous man that pagan antiquity presents to us." He was, above all, a practical ethical teacher; he was not touched by the subtle metaphysical concepts of the far East, nor had he much of the searching scientific spirit of the present-day Western civilization. He stands midway between the ancient Oriental and the modern Occidental thought-worlds, and contented himself with teaching virtue, temperance, integrity, kindness, and doing good. He voiced the higher law; he spoke the truths of God; his life was noble, his death was sublime; and his teachings have been an inspiration to the Godward-striving souls of all succeeding ages.}

A TRAMP'S EXPERIENCE.

BY AMELIA C. BRIGGS.

WHO does not number one or more tramps among his personal friends or acquaintances? He may be a religious individual, who browses, now here, now there, taking choice intellectual morsels from many fields, but not content with any single one.

Now the sermon is too long, the music discordant—operative or of inferior quality. Again, the congregation is cold, unsocial, or indifferent. Elsewhere the pews are uncomfortable, the ushers awkward, or indiscriminating in the choice of sittings assigned.

Perchance the preacher is given to proclaiming the destruction of the rebellious or unrepentant in too strong terms, or he may be unsound in his theology. He may permit too many utterances which seem attacks on one's petted practices; or there may be too much of ritualistic form, too much attention to outward observances.

What can a poor mortal do but keep on trying to find perfection?

It does not occur to him to look within, where profitable research might well begin. To his mind the church, though composed of men and women, should be perfect—just suited to his thought and desire.

Your friend may be a Sunday tramp. No other day affords him time for a social call, or furnishes the opportunity for an urgent visit at his remunerative farm, where he must needs inspect the details of work assigned. He must examine the fences, the ditches, the buildings; in fact, all features of the work need his care. Surely he must know how the cattle, sheep, and fowls are treated there. Living in the city he must see the latest improvements in roads, street bridges, and walks. He must keep up with the times, be well informed, and possibly effect a sale of property. Yes, Sunday is the only time when he can be sure of meeting the man he wishes to see. It

is also his only time to enjoy the parks, to test his bicycle, and to procure needed recreation.

We do not refer to the poor man whose every weekday must be given to work from early dawn to set of sun, to provide the bare necessities for himself and his household, and who on Sunday goes quietly to the park with his family to drink in inspiration which God has provided for him, and to reap the harvest which, through Nature, is in store for him—a love of the beautiful, the pure, and the exalted—not a restless roving for Sunday sport, but a response to an appeal of Nature for pure air, real rest, and quiet which will elevate, recuperate, and ennoble the real man.

Possibly your friend is an excursion tramp. Never does the word excursion reach his eyes or ears but he is alert. The cost, the distance, who are going?—these are the items of import. The place does not so much concern him; it is cheap, and he needs rest and a change. He must improve this opportunity for travel.

The business tramp and the social tramp are so familiar as to need no description. The hero of our story belongs to the great army of unfortunates who appeal to us for aid or alms. This class has almost innumerable subdivisions. Now a trust or a syndicate has forced his employer out of business; a factory has discharged its employees; or personal illness has driven him from the field. Thus by no fault of his own he becomes one of the army who tramp to find an opportunity to earn an honest living. He advertises, answers advertisements, petitions for work. All efforts fail, and the man is crushed. Our daily papers record many tragic results. Perchance, in an unguarded moment, one has fallen into temptation; he is ignored, snubbed, rebuked, but no helping hand is reached out to him; down, down he goes to desperation; at last a thief or a demon is born within him.

Mrs. White was a native of New England, educated in the strictest school of morals, and she became like the pine which represents her State, strong, gentle, generous, and helpful.

In her early married life, with her husband and little one she migrated to the Far West. She knew all the trials incident to a frontier life: the home a hastily made log cabin; the

neighbors distant and uncongenial. She knew poverty and sickness; but perseverance and unyielding faith brought their fruitage, and when, after many years, Mr. White was called to his reward he left a beautiful family, five boys and two girls, each of whom had been given a liberal college education. Mrs. White has a most desirable home, supplied with all modern conveniences, situated in one of Iowa's most flourishing and charming towns, with a snug little farm near by, besides a competent money income.

The sons still conduct the thriving business established by their father, which, by their push and energy, has been greatly augmented. The daughters are settled in fine homes of their own. With their mother, two sons still reside.

Ed was a manly fellow who intended to care for himself, but was overcome by a weakness. Early one Monday morning in May he rapped at Mrs. White's kitchen door. The maid, Mary, was busy with the washing. Mrs. White, on opening the door, was asked:

"Please, lady, may I saw wood from that pile in your yard to pay for a breakfast?"

Mrs. White was touched by the voice, the manner, or by something that spoke within her.

"Yes," was her reply, "you may come into my dining-room and eat your breakfast; afterward you may saw some wood."

The family had just dispersed; plenty was left on the table for a good meal. Ed's quiet, modest manner, his skilful use of table utensils, and his evident embarrassment arrested Mrs. White's attention. After finishing his meal, Ed went to work industriously at the wood, and continued steadily until Mrs. White told him that he had paid an ample price for his breakfast.

"Will you, then, let me continue to work and earn enough to buy another meal?"

"Yes," replied Mrs. White, "you may work all day, if you choose, and I will pay you fifty cents and give you your meals." Ed did a faithful day's work. After that Mrs. White told him he might remain through the week if he chose; she would pay him fifty cents each day, give him his meals and a place to sleep.

His work was so well done that it was decided to employ him for a month, during which time the flower-beds were made, garden planted, trees trimmed, and the various items of work required skilfully done. Ed had been with the family a month, and was engaged to work for the summer, on the farm if necessary, when it became known that Mary had decided to establish a home of her own. One day she said to Mrs. White:

"Ed wishes you would employ his wife to take my place when I go away."

"Ed's wife! What do you mean? Has Ed a wife? I thought him a boy. Are you joking?"

Soon Ed appeared and was questioned. "Mary tells me that you have a wife. Is it true?"

"Yes, Mrs. White, I have, and I wish you would allow her to try to do your work."

"I have written to two competent girls and hope to secure one of them," was the reply.

Neither of these girls was at liberty to accept the position. No one seemed to be found for the place. Against the advice of her sons, who suggested all sorts of possible complications, including the fear that their mother would suffer from too much work and care, Mrs. White finally allowed Ed to send for his wife. She would give her her board, try to teach her, and, at the expiration of one month, would give her wages or ask her to return to her parents. If she found her really capable she would give her wages at once.

"Thank you," replied Ed; "she will come."

Three days later he announced that Lucy would arrive the following morning at 10 o'clock.

Nine o'clock found Ed with neatly brushed hair and clothes, a happy face, and the well-kept family horse and carriage at the door. After taking Mrs. White for a short drive, he started for the station. The train arrived on time, and Ed lost no time in taking Lucy to his newly found home. He was happy and full of hope as he drove into the yard, which only a few weeks before he had entered for the first time in sadness.

"This, Mrs. White, is my wife, Lucy." And there stood a

delicate, frail-looking, fair-haired young girl, with blue eyes; too timid to speak aloud, and too much like a frightened bird to know which way to fly.

Mrs. White's heart failed her. Poor delicate child, thought she, she cannot do the hard work to be performed here. I must look out for some person to do washing, ironing, and other hard work, and see how we can get along.

Lucy, after days of struggling, became calm and quiet. Little by little she developed courage to assert herself, and prove that she had the ability to do many things. All were pleased with her serving at table and with her efforts at cooking; finally she was recognized as a helpful, efficient woman in all lines where her strength was sufficient.

In early winter it seemed best for Ed and Lucy to have a home of their own. A few suitable rooms were procured, Mrs. White and many of her friends each contributing some useful things toward its furnishing.

If the long list of articles for larder and house which Mrs. White purchased for \$15 were published, the reader would become incredulous, and the purchaser's veracity would be questioned.

The first visit was to her son's store, where she announced: "I have \$5 to expend here if I can buy at my own price; if not I must go elsewhere." A clerk was called and instructed to wait upon mother and to let her have her way about things. She pursued the same plan with dealers in other lines of goods, with similar results.

Toward spring a messenger came from Ed's home, and he was questioned as follows: "How much does she weigh? Whom does she resemble? What is the color of her hair? Is she a healthy child?"

April came again, and Ed had, as we sometimes hear said, taken a farm for the year. He was enabled to do so when Mrs. White loaned him the money required for the purchase of a cow, and had taken his note as security for the payment.

Ed had often wished to express his gratitude, but words failed him. Now that he was to go away he must speak. With tearful eyes he told Mrs. White that she had saved him

from ruin, helped him to be honest, and that he never could repay her or show her the gratitude which he felt.

She replied: "The only pay I want, and the greatest I could desire, is that you become a good and useful man, and always be true to your highest convictions of duty."

With streaming eyes and a hearty shake of the hand he faltered: "I'll try, I'll try."

After a little he told her that he once had saved \$100, that he fell into bad company, and that when he was not quite himself the money had disappeared. He dared not longer trust himself near those false friends. With money and credit gone, with none to befriend him, he started out he knew not whither.

Then Ed's promptness in transacting all matters of business was fully explained. He had never given a moment to making acquaintances about town. He had, from the first, spent all his leisure hours in reading. He had made himself familiar with the daily papers, as well as with the books in the family library. No months now pass without the exchange of letters between the two families.

Since all tramps are not worthy of such confidence, and could not be developed into such men as Ed became, and all women have not the tact and skill requisite to guide others aright, this incident will not serve as an indication of proper action in all cases; yet no thoughtful Christian does not sometimes ask, in sincerity and earnestness, How can the unemployed be cared for? How be furnished with an opportunity to help themselves rise out of their miserable condition, thus to encourage industry while correspondingly decreasing idleness?

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

IS THE PROPHET DEAD?

A MAN curious to inquire into the secret things sat one evening at a séance. There was what seemed to be a materialization. After several questions had been propounded and as many answers given, the Man said to the Spirit, "Are you going away?" "No," said the spirit; "not going away, but disappearing."

When a prophet dies he does not go away; he disappears. The real presence of the departing seer remains behind and expresses itself evermore in his works. It is for this reason that we speak always of the bards and prophets as being still alive. They are always in the present tense. They are so identified with their works that by an easy metonymy we put the book for the man; we say that we read *him* when we read the book; we say, though he be dead, that he *says* so and so, not that he *said* so and so. It would be a queer critic who should refer to anything that Shakespeare *said*.

Edward Bellamy was a prophet. Dying, he did not go away; he only disappeared. Nature must indeed be an immoral fact to spare a prizefighter and send a consumption after Edward Bellamy. Let us inquire briefly how this prophet should be regarded by his fellow mortals who have *not* disappeared from the arena of visible life.

In attempting to estimate the career and work of this man, other men are placed in a certain attitude towards him and his work. Whoever has read the two principal productions of Bellamy has taken a certain stand with respect to him and his theory of civilization. In the first place, he who believes in the Existing Order can have no part or lot with Edward Bellamy. He who does not believe in the Existing Order, but fears to disturb it, has no part or lot with him either. He who disbelieves in the Existing Order, but who thinks on the whole that it were better to let it alone than to go forward to some new social and economic condition which has not yet

been tested and proved by the experience of men, may have something in common with Bellamy, but not much. He who disbelieves in the Existing Order and is willing to patch up the structure with expedients and makeshifts, eking out a little here and plastering a little there, may have vaguely before him the same end which Bellamy sought to reach; but he does not have Bellamy's method, his inspiration, or his hope. He who disbelieves in the Existing Order—who puts it from him roughly in the insurgent spirit and with revolutionary methods—who hews and hacks little regardless of what he scars or where his splinters may fall, has Bellamy's object in view, but he does not have his spirit or his method.

Edward Bellamy was on the whole one of the gentlest and most humane revolutionists that ever lived. He was so mild-mannered in his innovations, so peaceable in thought and life, so sympathetic even with the distorted conditions of human society, that we scarcely know how to classify him. Was he really a rebel, an insurrectionist? Certainly he carried neither axe nor torch. Certainly he contemplated no such revolution as that which once set ablaze in a single fortnight hundreds of chateaux all over France. Certainly Bellamy did not wish to carry any rough and bloody reform with sword and vomiting cannon—carry it in such manner as to drive forth from their luxurious strongholds of ease and greed the idle nobility of our American empire. Bellamy sought not to squeeze out any—not to set thirty thousand emigrants a-flying across continents and seas—but rather to squeeze in many; to give the millions a chance; to set the weak and the fallen on their feet again; and this to the end that individuality under a sort of public socialism may to this extent assert itself, that in the final assizes every human being shall attain to "the dignity of the unit and count one."

It is very far from my purpose to trace the course of Edward Bellamy's life, or to enter into a critical analysis and estimate of his two great books. They are with us; he is gone. They remain to speak to us of the purpose of his life and the nature of his philosophy when he himself is as far away as Gautama and the generations of Japheth. What I have to say of him and his work relates only to his general

attitude with respect to human society, such as it is at the close of the nineteenth century.

Bellamy, being an American, lived to see with most penetrating vision the evil conditions into which we have come. He lived to discern this, that the abuse of property and of property rights under organization is the origin of the greater part of the unhappiness of the modern world. He perceived most clearly that it is not original sin, but aboriginal robbery that has undone mankind. He clearly perceived the difference between the book-made, traditional sin, against which the theologians are wont to thunder, and that deep-rooted, awful human harm which undoes the world and leaves the fairest hopes prostrate in the dust.

In considering this dreadful harm, done by man to man, by man to society, and by society to the individual, Bellamy discovered that nearly all of it has its root in the property condition, or, as we have said, in the abuse of property rights under organization. He therefore studied profoundly the state of inequality in society, diagnosed our diseases, and in his higher moods went so far as to suggest certain practical remedies by which a reform, as he thought, might be carried in every civilized nation. No doubt he began with the fact that in the first stages of social development the *individual* acts for himself and by himself in the acquisition of property. He saw that the next stage of the economic evolution introduces the principle and fact of association, or *copartnership*. In this stage men associate together in order to do and to have what they cannot do and have singly, or individually.

To this day the individual acquisition and possession of property continues. To get property is now the bottom motive in the struggle for existence. Occasionally we still find a rich miser in his seclusion, who, acting silently by individual methods, has amassed a fortune, and at the same time by self-denial has brought himself into moral atrophy, intellectual paralysis, and bodily ossification. Copartnership also survives in the business world, and its methods are still known and employed by men in association; but this form of association is weakened; it gives place at length to the *corporation*, which is the third stage in the economic evolution. Of

the corporation we have had in our own times ample and baleful demonstration. We have seen it rise on the ruins of partnership. We have seen it attack civil society and compel that society to give it the right to flourish and to reign.

But beyond the corporation there arises a still greater and more abusive fact, and that is the *trust*. Edward Bellamy saw the trust rising above the corporate life and drawing into its own circle of power, not one corporation, but hundreds and thousands of them, making them the materials of its own life.

It is at this point that modern society has made a pause. Bellamy, however, perceived that the pause is only temporary. He perceived clearly that there is no finality in the human evolution, but only an ongoing and new development for ever and ever. He therefore *looked ahead* and anticipated somewhat the possible state of society to come. He looked beyond the corporation and the trust, beyond the prodigious development of modern commercialism and municipality, and saw something higher and grander than these rising in the distance. What he saw towering in dim outline was the Social Trust of which all men are to be the beneficiaries. He imagined the possibility of seizing upon the present order and converting its gigantic evils by a gentle curve into the way of the greatest good. He saw beyond the existing order arising in dim outline the COÖPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH—a sort of socio-industrial, intellectual, and moral commune of associated interest, of mutual support and counsel.

It was at this point that Bellamy made his splendid leap. In doing so he was perfectly rational. He knew that society is not going to stop at its present stage of development. He knew that something else besides the present order must arise and stand in its stead. Disbelieving in the present order, he attempted in an ideal way, very gently and humanely, to put the present order aside. His effort was made with the pen. It was made in right reason and with the virtue of a great moral purpose. It was made in a manner so interesting as to draw the sympathetic attention of the whole world to this weak-bodied but great-souled man. The common folk among the nations took up his first book and saw reflected in it something of their own dreams and hopes. The leaders of society

took it up, followed the argument, and admitted its truthfulness so far as the disease and the diagnosis are concerned, but refused to follow further. After their manner they yawned and laid down the volume. Indeed it may be said in a general way that all of Bellamy has been accepted *except* his remedial agencies and his prophetic indications.

This is the manner, however, of the English-speaking race. The man who speaks English never accepts anything until it is thrust upon him. Generally he does not accept it until it is forced upon him by revolution. Afterward he will say that he likes it very much and that he was always striving to get it. There is a strange admixture of cowardice and courage, of daring and conservatism, of reformatory tendency and stolid reactionism in the Anglo-Saxon constitution. If the race were practically as adventurous in the direction of ideal betterment as it is in the way of geographical adventure, seafaring, conquest, colonization, and government, then by the agency of this courageous but immobile division of mankind the world would long ere this have reached a millennium.

But the English-speaking people hold back from any rapid approach towards ideal conditions. The whole product, therefore, of the civilization which the Anglo-Saxon stock has produced is essentially like an old English cathedral, which, beginning in a shanty, has never demolished anything, but always added to it and covered it up; and to this day should anyone search in the heart or remote wing of the cathedral for the original hut, and should he propose to remove it with its rat-holes and bat-haunts, the whole race would be up in arms for fear the Existing Order might be disturbed, religion injured, and society be visited with the vengeance of heaven on the score of sacrilege!

Had we the courage to clear away sometimes, to lay a new foundation, to bring in a new architecture that shall be consistent with itself and equal to the aspiration of the age, then we should all become apostles of Edward Bellamy. In that event we should take up and carry forward, if not complete, the building of that exquisite and humane structure which the author of "Looking Backward" and "Equality" beheld in his visions and dreams.

THE ARENA FOR SEPTEMBER.

The Great Question in Retrospect.

We take pleasure in announcing as our leading contribution for September a dispassionate and convincing article by Hon. William M. Fishback, Ex-Governor of Arkansas, who discusses in retrospect the great question at issue in the presidential election of 1896.

Henry George: A Study from Life.

Mrs. Sallie A. McLean will contribute a timely paper, giving some highly interesting reminiscences and characteristics of the late Henry George. The author was personally acquainted with the great reformer from the time of his early struggles in California until the date of his death, and the authenticity of her sketch may therefore be relied on.

Rudyard Kipling as a Poet.

Frank Gaylord Gilman will give an able critical estimate of the poetry of Rudyard Kipling.

Four Remarkable Psychical Experiences.

Rev. B. F. Austin, D. D., a Canadian clergyman, and Principal of Alma College, St. Thomas, Ontario, in a very striking paper, relates four very remarkable cases of occult or psychic experiences which, within the last few years, have occurred within his own personal knowledge.

Woman's Future Position in the World.

In a powerfully written article, Mrs. L. M. Holmes, of Denver, Colorado, sets forth the change which has taken place in the status of woman in this country, and the improved position which she at present occupies as compared with the past, and predicts some of the wonderful things which women are going to achieve in the future by means of their new-found liberty.

Social and Economic Conditions Yesterday and To-day.

Our regular contributor, Mr. B. O. Flower, will present one of his powerful reform papers, in which he draws a vivid though painful contrast between the prosperous condition of the common people in this country in the past as compared with their depressed and discontented condition to-day. He also suggests some remedies to cure present ills.

The Bible of the Future.

In an extremely able and well-written paper, the Rev. Joseph Fort Newton, Pastor of the First Baptist Church of Paris, Texas, gives a forecast of what, in his belief, the Bible of the Future will be. As questions which go down to the foundation of religion, and deal with it in a liberal spirit, are of universal interest, this paper should be widely read.

The Servant Class on the Farm and in the Slums.

In this brightly written and entertaining paper, Mr. Bolton Hall shows why it is that country folk crowd into the cities and gravitate towards the slums, and why young women prefer to work as shop girls and in factories rather than as domestic servants.

"Our War Veteran."

To judge by the number of letters which have reached us, the brief sketch, entitled "Our War Veteran," by Zoe Anderson Norris, which appeared in THE ARENA for June, seems to have created quite a commotion among the worthy members of the G. A. R. From the numerous replies or remonstrances which have been sent in, we have selected for publication two: one, entitled "*The Much-Abused War Pensioner*," by A. O. Genung, a war veteran, who, though quite deaf, is the Editor of a Western journal; the other, entitled "*Alleged Pension Frauds*," by George R. Scott, another veteran, who, since the Civil War, has been quite blind, and whose wife acts as his amanuensis.

John Clark Ridpath.

In the September number the Editor will present another of his brilliant articles on one of the great questions of the day. The correspondence of THE ARENA office shows conclusively the powerful hold which Dr. Ridpath's writings have taken upon the sympathy and admiration of his countrymen. Each successive article from his pen falls with added force upon the adversaries of democracy and political reform. In addition to his leading contribution he will also contribute to the September number a literary article and an unusually interesting cluster of brief studies in The Editor's Evening.

An excellent poem, "*The Song of Gold*," and the usual item of fiction will complete the number which will be worthy of comparison with any of its predecessors.

To our Patrons and Friends:

Again we call the attention of our readers to the extraordinary offer which we make to new subscribers. We will send the six numbers of **THE ARENA**, comprising the 20th volume from July to December, 1898, inclusive,

FOR ONE DOLLAR!

We greatly desire to extend as much as possible our subscription list at this time. We have accordingly **made this special rate**, and announce it to all our patrons. It is needless to urge the fact that the terms named are below the value of the magazine, but we are determined in these times of trial and transformation, in addition to holding our extensive list of well-tried friends, to win new friends in every section of our country. We appeal to all well-wishers for their coöperation. **THE ARENA** must not only be successful — it must be great; it must know no peer. That it may be the preëminent organ of the people and among the people, we call to them to lend their aid in swelling our subscription list to the largest possible proportions.

Patrons and Friends! Give us your aid. Let each secure *at least one new subscriber* for **THE ARENA**. Let each endeavor to make a club and thus secure some of **the valuable premiums** which we announce. Stirring times are before us; the age is in commotion. If the age to come is to be better than the present, then must the people be awake to the preservation of their institutions and the betterment of their social and political estate. **THE ARENA** devotes itself without curb or chain to the betterment of conditions. We stand for the promotion of a generous democracy among mankind. Give us your hand and urge your friends to become readers of **THE ARENA** and subscribers to it. Your effort will be answered more cordially than any offer we may make from this office.

Send to us for circulars, for sample copies, for information. We await your commands. Remember the rate of

ONE DOLLAR FOR SIX MONTHS!

This offer is strictly **confined to the 20th volume**, beginning with July and ending with December, 1898. We shall be able to supply back numbers whenever they are demanded. Let our friends be courageous. Each day, each mail brings us renewed assurances of the esteem in which we are held by all the lovers of freedom and progress. **THE ARENA** is hailed by the people as their own. Add your appreciation and your effort.

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See Club and Premium List on pages following.